

# MATERIAL RECONSTRUCTION, NEW JOINS AND READINGS IN 4Q415 (4QINSTRUCTION<sup>A</sup>)

## *Summary*

This paper proposes a new material reconstruction of 4Q415, one of the copies of *Instruction* from Qumran. The reconstruction encompasses approximately one quarter of the 32 fragments of the scroll. This reconstruction supports and further develops the suggestion that several fragments of the scroll were wadded in the rolled scroll. It demonstrates the possibility of placing the fragments in seven consecutive layers, and arranges them in a digital canvas. The material evidence supports new joins, and consequently new readings. The reconstruction sheds new light on the arrangement of the text of the scroll. It thus establishes a better understanding of this fragmentary copy of *Instruction*, and it hopefully will serve as a further milestone in the study of this enigmatic composition.

**T**HE text commonly referred to as *Instruction* is a Jewish sapien-  
tial composition from the Second Temple period. *Instruction* is  
only attested at Qumran, and has been preserved in eight copies:  
1Q26, 4Q415, 4Q416, 4Q417, 4Q418, 4Q418a, 4Q418\* and 4Q423. (1)

\* This study is funded by a grant from the DIP foundation (Deutsche-Israelische Projektkooperation), Grant Number BE 5916/1-1, as part of the project Scripta Qumranica Electronica. I am indebted to Prof. Jonathan Ben-Dov for his close and critical reading of this paper, which significantly improved it. In addition, thanks are due to Prof. Eibert Tigchelaar and Dr. Eshbal Ratzon for their helpful comments. The methodologies implemented in this study were developed by the team of SQE project, especially Jonathan Ben-Dov, Asaf Gayer and Eshbal Ratzon. I am indebted to all SQE team for the general learning process and for the discussions of the issue addressed here. Finally, images in this article are courtesy of the Leon Levi Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library of Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA); Photographer: Shay Halevi (fig. 5: Photographer: Najib Anton Albina).

(1) The exact number of copies of *Instruction* is still being discussed among scholars. Torleif Elgvin, *An Analysis of 4QInstruction* (PhD Dissertation; The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1997), 19–23, was the first to note that not all of the fragments

This paper focusses on 4Q415, a fragmentary copy that was dated paleographically to the early Herodian period. (2) This scroll comprises 38 fragments (32 are designated in DJD 34, while 6 more fragments carry only an IAA record number), which are characterized by vast deterioration. A further prominent feature of 4Q415 is that it is an opisthograph: the verso of all 32 fragments designated in DJD 34 preserves text from 4Q414 – 4QRitual of Purification A. In general, the recto (4Q415) and the verso (4Q414) show the same height and width of columns, and the same width of intercolumnar margins.

This paper proposes a new material reconstruction comprising approximately one quarter of the preserved fragments of 4Q415: the largest fragments (frags. 1, 2, 6, 9, and 11), and several smaller fragments (frags. 5, 7, 10, 13, and 21). The reconstruction is based on the method developed by Hartmut Stegemann and further elaborated in later studies. I will describe the assumptions and principles underlying the reconstruction. In so doing, I will present new joins and offer a brief discussion of their readings.

The present study was undertaken as a part of the *Scripta Qumranica Electronica* (SQE) project, a joint German and Israeli research project. The Haifa team of this project focusses on *Instruction*. It aims to create a new digital edition of the composition through the material reconstruction of its copies, where possible. Research on 4Q415 was initially conducted by Asaf Gayer. I want to thank Gayer who kindly shared his findings with me and with whom I have repeatedly consulted about the proposed reconstruction. In a forthcoming article, Gayer presents new joins and configurations between 4Q415 fragments. (3) These, in turn, comprise the first stage of the current reconstruction, as will be detailed below (§ 2).

## 1. REVIEW OF PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP

Stegemann developed an influential method for material reconstruction of fragmentary scrolls. This method utilizes repeating patterns of damage, which formed prior to the fragmentation of the scroll, in order to locate fragments within the scroll: the distance between corresponding points of damage is treated as the circumference of

originally identified with 4Q418 belong to this copy. Over the years, other scholars have suggested separating fragments from 4Q418 and identifying them with other copies, or even with other compositions. See John Strugnell and Daniel J. Harrington, "A. Instruction," in *Qumran Cave 4.XXIV: Sapiental Texts Part 2, 4QInstruction (Mūsār Lē Mēvîn): 4Q415ff* (DJD 34; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 497, 501; Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2001), 61–64.

(2) Strugnell and Harrington, "A. Instruction," 43.

(3) Asaf Gayer, "New Readings and Joins in the Wisdom Composition *Instruction*," *Meghillot* 15 (forthcoming), 26 pp. (Heb.).

the scroll at that particular point. (4) The circumference increases or decreases between consecutive layers in the rolled scroll, in accordance with the direction of the rolling. The degree of increase or decrease between layers depends on the tightness of the scroll's rolling and the thickness of the leather. Stegemann demonstrated his method through the reconstruction of 1QH<sup>a</sup>. (5) His method was further elaborated and applied by later scholars, such as Steudel, Tigchelaar and Elgvin. (6)

Elgvin was the first to note the recurrent pattern of damage among the fragments of 4Q415. (7) In his dissertation, Elgvin points to the similar shape of fragments 9 and 11, and to some extent also fragment 2. Elgvin proposes that these fragments were wadded in the rolled scroll in the following order: Fragment 11 was the inner layer of the wad, as suggested by its light color; fragment 9, which has a similar shape to fragment 11, stood above it; and fragment 2 was the external layer of the wad.

(4) Hartmut Stegemann, "Methods for Reconstruction of Scrolls from Scattered Fragments," in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman; JSPSup 8; Sheffield: JSOT, 1990), 189–220; idem, "How to Connect Dead Sea Scroll Fragments?" *BRev* 4/1 (1998): 1–11. The method was not invented by Stegemann, as in many ways it makes intuitive use of the data, and therefore occasionally was used in the past by scholars of other ancient manuscripts, both parchment and papyrus. Stegemann concentrated many efforts in standardizing the method and making it applicable for DSS research.

(5) Hartmut Stegemann, *Die Rekonstruktion der Hodayot* (Ph.D. diss.; University of Heidelberg, 1963); idem, "The Material Reconstruction of 1QHodayot," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery; Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 1997* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman et al.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society; Israel Museum, 2000), 272–284. The reconstruction of 1QH<sup>a</sup> was later published in its full capacity in Hartmut Stegemann, Eileen Schuller and Carol Newsom, *1QHodayot<sup>a</sup> with Incorporation of 1QHodayot<sup>b</sup> and 4QHodayot<sup>c-f</sup>* (DJD 40; Oxford: Clarendon, 2009).

(6) Annette Steudel, "Assembling and Reconstructing Manuscripts," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment I* (ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 516–534; Tigchelaar, "Constructing, Deconstructing and Reconstructing Fragmentary Manuscripts: Illustrated by a Study of 4Q184 (4QWiles of the Wicked Woman)," in *Rediscovering the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Assessment of Old and New Approaches and Methods* (ed. Maxine L. Grossman; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 26–47; Torleif Elgvin, "The Genesis Section of 4Q422 (4QParaGenExod)," *DSD* 1 (1994): 180–196; idem, "How to Reconstruct a Fragmented Scroll: The Puzzle of 4Q422," in *Northern Lights on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Nordic Qumran Network 2003–2006* (ed. Anders Klostergaard Petersen et al.; Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2009), 223–236; idem, "1QSamuel—A Pre-canonical Shorter Recension of 2Samuel," *ZAW* 132.2 (2020): 281–300. See further: Kipp Davis, *The Cave 4 Apocryphon of Jeremiah and the Qumran Jeremianic Traditions: Prophetic Persona and the Construction of Community Identity* (STDJ 11; Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2014), 70–102; Matthew P. Monger, "4Q216—A New Material Analysis," *Semítica* 60 (2018): 309–333. Recently, Ben-Dov, Gayer and Ratzon proposed a material reconstruction of 4Q418a (Jonathan Ben-Dov, Asaf Gayer and Eshbal Ratzon, *Material and Digital Reconstruction of Fragmentary Scrolls. The Case of 4Q418a*; forthcoming).

(7) Elgvin, *4QInstruction*, 26–27.

The editors of the DJD edition relate briefly to the reconstruction of 4Q415. (8) Quoting P. Kim and A. Steudel, Strugnell and Harrington (SH) suggest the following order of fragments: 1ii+2i (based on the distant join noted by Strugnell, as discussed below), 2ii, 10 (?), 12, and 7i-ii. No explanation for this order is provided by the editors.

Gayer believed that Elgvin was fundamentally correct, and elaborated his proposal. He identified recurring patterns of damage in fragments 1, 2, 6, 9, 10, 11, as will be detailed below. In this paper, I intend to expand this proposal and suggest a material reconstruction of fragments 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, and 21, based on recurring damage patterns in these fragments. I will demonstrate that it is possible to locate these fragments in at least seven consecutive layers in the rolled scroll.

The reconstruction proposed here is based on mathematical calculations. Methodologically, the aim of these calculations is to estimate the location of each fragment in the original scroll, on the basis of the extant material evidence in 4Q415 and 4Q414. In contrast to common research goals in the exact sciences, these calculations do not aim to produce results reflecting precise numbers, but rather to offer an estimate, along with an evaluation of the margin of error. The fact that the proposal coheres with additional data narrows down the initial margin of error and bolsters the case for this basic reconstruction. Moreover, parts of the reconstruction—in particular, the order of fragments in the reconstructed scroll—stand independently and do not depend on the calculations.

## 2. WAD OF FRAGMENTS 1, 2, 6, 9, 10, 11 (HILA DAYFANI WITH COLLABORATION OF ASAF GAYER)

We suggest that fragments 1, 2, 6, 9, 10, and 11 were once wadded in the rolled scroll, and that these fragments can be divided into a top group and a bottom group. Each group was originally wadded, and joins can be identified between the groups. We will draw upon this suggestion to restore the scroll.

### 2.1 Top Group



Fig. 1: frags. 1 (left), 6 and 10 (right)

(8) Strugnell and Harrington, "A. Instruction," 43.

The top group includes fragments 1, 6, and 10. These fragments each contain between two and seven lines of text, as well as a right or middle margin. A common round shape on the right edge of each fragment is identified as the recurring damage pattern.

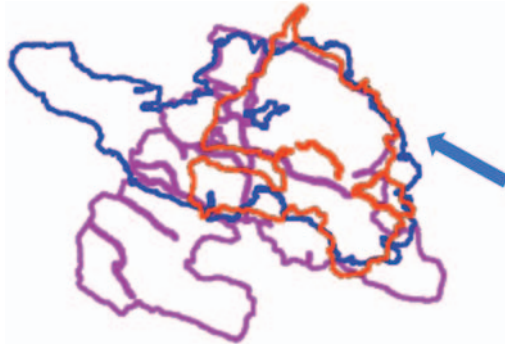


Fig. 2: Wad of frags. 1, 6, and 10 and corresponding pattern of damage (9)

## 2.2 Bottom Group



Fig. 3: frags. 2 (left), 9 and 11 (right) (10)

(9) The digital representation of fragments' borders was initially carried out by Davis in the reconstruction of *Apocryphon of Jeremiaia* (4Q385a). The SQE team adopted this method and developed it further. The method entails a digitization of Steudel's earlier suggestion to prepare photocopies of all the fragments of a manuscript in order to identify corresponding traces of decay. See Steudel, "Assembling," 526–527.

(10) The images of fragments 2 and 11 were enhanced using an image manipulation program. **Fragment 2** contains a join of a small triangular fragment on the bottom-left side of column 2ii (documented separately in PAM 41.860 and PAM 42.456, and joined in PAM 43.549). We rotated the triangular fragment 2° counterclockwise in order to correct its location and align lines 7–9. In addition, a small piece of the fragment, at the end of line 7, is absent in the new IAA image (B-496041). Using GIMP, we removed the image of the missing piece from PAM 43.459 and pasted it into the IAA image. The IAA image of **fragment 11** (B-363527) shows that parts of its right side were detached and pasted back with Japanese paper. As a result, the lines are not straight. We used GIMP again in order to align these lines, by rotating the small top-right piece 3° counterclockwise and moving the bottom-right piece 2 mm to the right.

The bottom group is made up of fragments 11, 2, and 9. These fragments are relatively large (6.5-11.8 cm long; 6.5-8 cm wide), each containing between nine and twelve lines of text. All three fragments contain side or middle margins. (11) Fragments 2 and 11 contain bottom margins as well. Common protrusions on the bottom left-hand side (frags. 2, 9, and 11) and on the top right-hand side (frags. 9, 11, and 6) indicate the recurring damage patterns between these fragments (fig. 4).

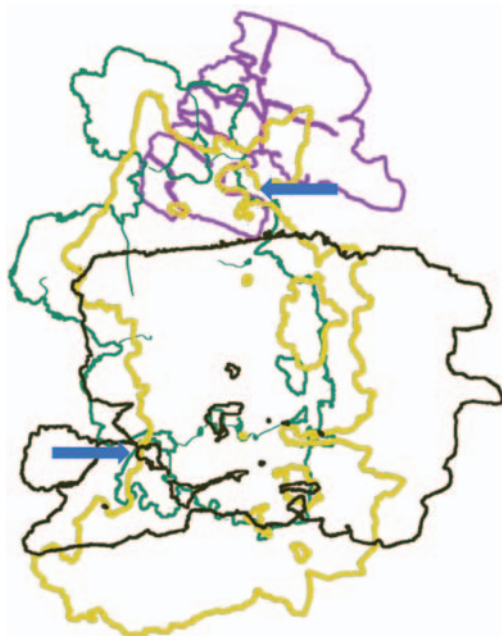


Fig. 4: Frags. 2, 9, 11 (bottom group) and 6 (top group) and corresponding points of damage

## 2.3 New Joins

### *4Q415 1 and 4Q415 2*

Fragments 1 and 2 are considered in the DJD and in other editions of *Instruction* to be a distant join, mainly on the grounds of content rather than on material grounds. Strugnell was the first who placed the fragments side by side on PAM 43.549 (fig. 5). (12) It was later adopted

(11) Fragment 11 preserves a tiny part of the intercolumnar margin on the bottom part (between lines 10–11).

(12) Strugnell's suggestion is not mentioned in the Preliminary Concordance.

in all editions of *Instruction*. (13) We suggest, in contrast, to place fragment 1 above fragment 2 so that the two columns represented in each of them comprise the same two columns (fig. 6). The motivation for the new join is based on several material factors that together supersede the textual factor that motivated Strugnell's distant join:

- 1) The intercolumnar margins of fragments 1 and 2 have the same width both on the recto (4Q415) and on the verso (4Q414). If one posits the recto intercolumnar margins of both fragments exactly one above the other, the recto intercolumnar margins correlate as well, and vice versa.
- 2) Locating fragments 1 and 2 in vertical order reinforces the material pattern of the wad, since fragment 1 belongs to the top group of the wad and fragment 2 belongs to its bottom group.

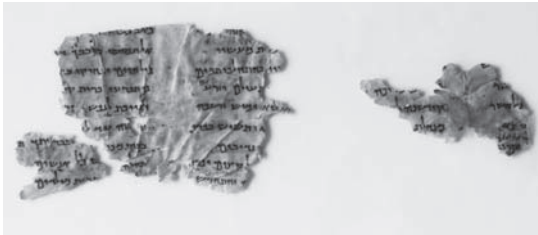


Fig. 5: Strugnell's suggestion for frags. 1 and 2;  
PAM 43.549



Fig. 6: New distant  
join of frags. 1 and 2

The join of the two fragments, based on the corresponding points of damage in both the top group (frg. 1) and the bottom group (frg. 2) of the wad, reveals that two lines of text are absent between fragments 1i and 2i, and three lines are absent between fragments 1ii and 2ii. The join cannot be substantiated textually, due to the fragmentary text of fragment 1. Nonetheless, there is no textual evidence to refute it.

Below is the text of the joined fragments. The numbering on the right side of the text is the line number in the combined text, while the numbering on the left side is the line number in the column.

(13) Strugnell and Harrington, "A. Instruction," 34, 45–46; Tigchelaar, *Increase Learning*, 31–32; Benjamin G. Wold, *Women, Men and Angels: The Qumran Wisdom Document Musar leMevin and its Allusion to Genesis Creation Traditions* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 82–85; Jean-Sébastien Rey, *4QInstruction: sagesse et eschatologie* (STDJ 81; Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2009), 138 (fn. 9); Matthew J. Goff, *4QInstruction* (Atlanta: SBL, 2013), 33. The join was also accepted by scholars who studied 4Q414 based on similar grounds, with no additional argument offered to buttress it. See Esther Eshel, "414. 4QRitual of Purification A," in *Qumran Cave 4.XXV: Halakhic Texts* (DJD 35; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 135–154 (140–141).



4Q415 1i+4Q415 2i

Possible overlaps: 4Q418 178 (underlined); 4Q418 235+236 (dotted underline)

13	ש[	] 1
14	שר[	] 2
15	ת לאשר	] 3
16	ואז [תמצא	בביתכה תעזור] 4
17	ה' [וחרפת'כה]	בית מכונים] 5
18	[	] 6
19	[	] 7
20	ל[תהי כ[ו]	] 8
21	מדת מעשיו	] 9
22	דר[כיו בהתהלכו תמים	] 10
23	בר[ית עולם וזרע	] 11
24	כ[יא לוא ימוש זרעכה	] 12
25	א[ ותשוש בפרי	] 13
26	בי[ן נדיבים	] 14
27	לכו[ל קצים יפרח	יושיבכה ו] 15
28	ם[והתחדש	] 16

bottom margin

A full critical edition of the fragments is outside the scope of this work, and will be included in a forthcoming comprehensive critical edition of *Instruction* by the team of SQE project. Nevertheless, in what follows we will briefly discuss selected new readings.

Line 11: בר[ית עולם וזרע. SH identified the first preserved letter in the line as ב. (14) I follow Tigchelaar and Qimron in reading ת. (15) This line opens the description of the reward to whom walks blamelessly. ותהי ברית עולם is reconstructed according to Ben Sira 45:15: ותהי ברית עולם, ולזרעו כימי השמים. See also Gen 17:19: וְהָקַמְתִּי אֶת־בְּרִיתִי לְךָ. אֶתוֹ לְבְרִית עוֹלָם לְזֶרְעוֹ אַחֲרָיו.

Line 14: SH, Qimron and Tigchelaar did not identify the last letter in the word that precedes נדיבים in line 7. I suggest that the ink marks fit well with a final nun, which descends below the baseline. Hence, I suggest the reading בין נדיבים יושיבכה, “among the nobles will he make thee to be seated”, based on Ben Sira 11:1: ובין נדיבים תושיבנו; (see also 1 Sam 2:8: לְהוֹשִׁיב עִם־נְדִיבִים; Ps 113:8: לְהוֹשִׁיב עִם־נְדִיבִים; 4Q416 2iii 11: ועם נדיבים הושיבכה; 4Q418 9 10–11: עם נדיבים הו[שיב]כה).

(14) Strugnell and Harrington, “A. Instruction,” 45.

(15) Tigchelaar, *Increase Learning*, 32; Elisha Qimron, *The Qumran Texts: Composite* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition; Tel-Aviv, 2020), 160.



This reading may be consistent with the broad context of the reward of the addressee (the *mevin* or his student).

## 4Q415 1ii+4Q415 2ii

13	[	ל] 1
14	[	בכ] [ מוּכָה אֵ] 2
15	[	קודשכה לאֵ] 3
16	[	מנחלת ] 4
17	[	] 5
18	[	] 6
19	[	] 7
20	[	כאב כבדי אֵ[יש]וֹ] 8
21	[	אל תמושי מלבבִי{ך} ועֵ] 9
22	[	כול היום ובחיקו בר] 10
23	[	פן תפרעי ברית קוֹ[דש] 11
24	[	ואויבת לנפשך ומֵ] 12
25	[	א[שה עד לעֵ] 13
26	[	בבית מכוֹ] [ובבריתך ת] 14
27	[	תהלה [פי כיל אנשים ] 15
28	[	ל[מבית מולדים ] 16

*bottom margin*

The suffix כה, in fragments 1ii, 2 and 3, reveals that these lines are addressed to a male, while fragment 2ii lines 8ff includes a rare occurrence of sapiential address to a female figure, probably a wife or daughter. The transition between the two addressees occurs in the missing text between the fragments.

In line 8, we have accepted Qimron's reading—אישך, "your husband". (16) According to this reading, the passage is a command that the woman honor her husband 'like her father.' Comparison of the authority of the husband with the fatherly authority occurs also in 4Q416 2iv, where the woman's transition from her father's authority to her husband's is expressed in the latter's ability to nullify her vows. As Wold noted, a similar idea appears in Philo's *Questions and Answers on Genesis* (1,27). (17) Philo, while inquiring why the first woman is formed from a rib of Adam and not from the earth, provides four explanations, all of which share a presumption of hierarchy between male and female. The last of them reads as follows:

He counsels man figuratively to take care of woman as of a daughter, and woman to honour man as a father. (18)

(16) Cf. Strugnell and Harrington, "A. Instruction," 47; Rey, *4QInstruction*, 139 and Goff, *4QInstruction*, 33 who suggest the reading ה[ותנך], "your father in law".

(17) Wold, *Women*, 200.

(18) Translation by R. Marcus, 16.



Fig. 7: New join of frags. 9 and 10

#### 4Q415 9 and 4Q415 10

Many scholars suggested that fragments 9 and 10 should be placed on the same vertical axis, as suggested already in PAM 41.972. Tigchelaar notes the similarity between the fragments, emphasizing their similar color as well as the fact that the distance from the stitches to the beginning of the writing in fragment 9 is the same as in fragment 10ii. (19)

Both SH and Tigchelaar recognize the remains of two letters in column ii of fragment 10, but they do not provide a reading of these letters. (20) In contrast, we suggest that the first stroke is a diagonal bottom stroke of a *lamed*. (21) This sign matches the beginning of fragment 9 line 3, in which the *lamed* of the word *להורית* is represented only

(19) Tigchelaar, *Increase Learning*, 35.

(20) Strugnell and Harrington, "A. Instruction," 68; Tigchelaar, *Increase Learning*, 35–36.

(21) The IR image of fragment 10 presented here was enhanced using an image manipulation program (GIMP): The IAA images (B-363529) show that the bottom left piece of fragment 10 was detached and pasted back with Japanese paper almost at the bottom of the fragment. The older PAM 41.972, on the other hand, indicates that the bottom left piece should be positioned about 0.35 cm higher. Using GIMP, we rotated the little bottom left piece 2° clockwise, to a near horizontal position, and moved it back to its original location, 0.35 cm above.

by its top stroke. Placing the fragments accordingly produces an exact alignment of the stitching in both fragments one above the other. In addition, the second remnant of a letter on fragment 10ii fits the missing right-hand stroke of *he* (for a similar ה see fragment 24 1). The join is thus supported by continuation of letters and agreement with the physical characteristics of fragment 9.

#### 4Q415 9, 4Q415 10 and 4Q415 7

Fragment 7 is a relatively a small fragment, containing remnants of three lines of text, as well as a right intercolumnar margin.



Fig. 8: frg. 7

[	ה[ ]	1
[	וְבִרְיָחִיכָה נְחוּשׁ	2
[	חֹק בְּ[ע]ֶה וְהַסֵּן	3

In line 3, Tigchelaar reads חֹק, but I follow SH in reading חֹק, due to the absence of the head characterizing the letter *waw*.

In the second word of the third line, SH and Tigchelaar identify the letters אֶה[ב]. These letters do not form a sensible reading. SH raise the possibility of reading בִּיאָה, but admit that this reading is doubtful. Indeed, SH and Tigchelaar's suggestion is materially unreasonable. The space in the leather between the first and third letters of the word is large enough for two narrow letters or for one wide letter. Reconstruction of the letter *yod* as they propose leaves a space between the second and third letters of the word (see fig. 9). Instead, we propose the reading בְּ[ע]ֶה. The traces of ink of the third letter match the letter *dalet*. The space of the second letter and the small trace of ink fit well with the letter *ayin* (fig. 9). Moreover, the combination of the root חֹק with the word בָּעַד appears in the Bible (2 Sam 10:12: חֹק וְנִתְחַזַּק בְּעַד-עֲמִנֹנוּ; 1 Chr 19:13: חֹק וְנִתְחַזַּקָה בְּעַד-עֲמִנֹנוּ וּבָעַד עָרֵי אֱלֹהֵינוּ), and in DSS (4Q266 10i 7: חֹק וְהַסֵּן בְּעַד[הע]נִי וְהַאֲבִינִי; 4Q269 4ii 3: חֹק וְנִתְחַזַּק בְּעַד עֲמִנֹנוּ). (22)

(22) CD<sup>a</sup> reads in both cases בִּיד instead of בָּעַד.



Fig. 9: The readings *בועדה* and *ביאה* in frg. 7 2

If this reading is correct, the phrase probably refers to a female. It should be interpreted as a metaphor: the addressee strengthens the woman by means of the bronze bars in his possession. The significance of the metaphor is obscure, and it may be interpreted in two manners: positively, as in the conjunction of *חז"ק* and *בעד* in BH and 4Q266, meaning that the male will intensify or encourage the female; or negatively, expressing the dominion of the male over the female (cf. frg. 9 7: [יחד ממשל זכר את נ]קבה); (23)

We suggest placing fragment 7 above fragment 9 (fig. 11). In this manner, the first line of fragment 9 follows the text of fragment 7.

The motivation for joining the fragments is essentially material, based on the following considerations:

1. Both fragment 7 and fragment 9 preserve a right margin. The beginning of the column in fragments 7 and 9 correspond both on the recto (4Q415) and on the verso (4Q414).
2. When aligning the fragments as proposed, their physical protrusions fit well together (see fig. 11).
3. The color images published by the IAA show similarity in the color of the leather of fragment 7 and the top of fragment 9 (B-363525; B-363521: See fig. 11).
4. Fragment 7 is a join of two smaller fragments. In PAM 40.599, PAM 41.821, and PAM 41.860 the fragments are documented separately, being joined only in PAM 42.561. By locating fragment 7 on top of fragment 9, one can see that this crack continues at the top of fragment 9. The latter is also a join of two smaller fragments (documented separately in PAM 41.860 and PAM 41.972 and joined in PAM 42.561). Figure 10 shows the continuity of the crack in the both fragments.



Fig. 10: Corresponding crack in frags. 7 and 9

(23) See Wold, *Women*, 231–232. Qimron suggested in oral conversation that the metaphor may express that the husband should prevent immorality by keeping his wife at home. See also Ben Sira 11:34–35; cf. Ps 147:13: *כִּי־חֹזֶק בְּרִיחֵי שָׁעָרָיִךְ*.



Fig. 11: New join of frags. 9, 10, and 7

Finally, another consideration supporting the join if frags 7 and 9 is a textual one: if the phrase **חזק בעדה** indeed relates to a female, it may be connected with the female addressee in fragment 9: **בה הכינה** **כיא היא**; **רוחה המשל בה**.

## 2.4 Aligning the Fragments According to Corresponding Points of Damage

After identifying corresponding damage pattern and new joins, we arranged the wadded fragments in horizontal order (at this point, without considering the order of the fragments in the original scroll and the distances between them). The corresponding points of damage were used as anchors (fig. 12).

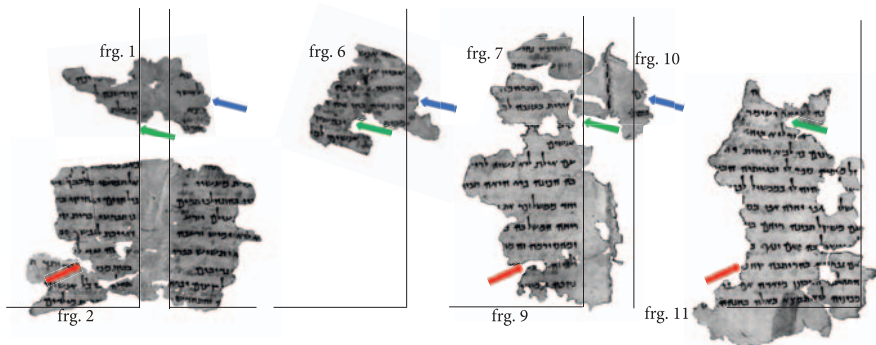


Fig. 12: Placing frags.1, 2, 6, 7, 9, 10, and 11 according to corresponding points of damage

## 3. NUMBER OF SHEETS

The horizontal ruler lines whose traces can be seen in fragments 9 and 11 indicate that 4Q415 was ruled, like almost all Qumran and Masada texts written on leather. (24) Typically, the horizontal ruling was continuous across all the columns in each sheet of the scroll: it was started to the right of the first column, and continued as far as the last column in the sheet to the left. Therefore, the interlinear spacing in fragments that originate from the same sheet should almost similar. (25) On the basis of this consideration, the fragments presented in figure 12 cannot be assigned to the same sheet since the ruled lines on some of the fragments do not align. I therefore assigned them to three distinct sheets:

- 1) Sheet 1: fragments 1, 2, 6, 10i
- 2) Sheet 2: fragments 7, 9, 10ii
- 3) Sheet 3: fragment 11

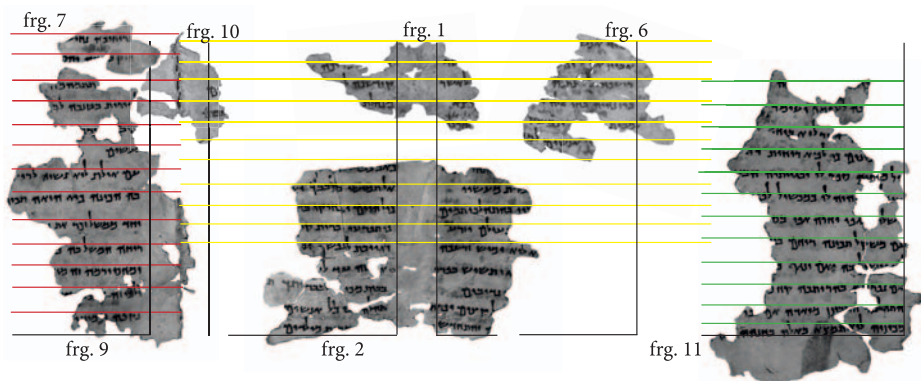


Fig. 13: Ruling of frags. 1, 2, 6, and 10i (yellow lines), 7, 9, and 10ii (red lines) and 11 (green lines)

Figure 13 shows the inconsistency between the lines of fragments 7, 9, 10ii and fragment 11, as well as the inconsistency between the lines of each of them and the lines of fragments 1, 2, 6, and 10i. In contrast, the lines of fragments 1, 2, 6, and 10i are fully consistent. (26)

(24) Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2004), 53–54.

(25) Steudel, “Assembling,” 527.

(26) The end of lines 5 and 6 in frag. 6 (שק in line 5 and למ in line 6) deviate from the line, apparently due to material damage affecting the fragment. As we can see

## 4. COLUMN WIDTH

**4.1 Approximate Column Width Based on Reconstruction of the Parallel Copy 4Q418a**

The next step in the reconstruction is based on the data established by Ben-Dov, Gayer and Ratzon, in their material reconstruction of the scroll 4Q418a, another copy of *Instruction*. The overlaps between 4Q415 11/ 4Q418a 15+13, and 4Q415 6/ 4Q418a 7, as well as the material reconstruction of 4Q418a by Ben-Dov, Gayer and Ratzon, lead to two conclusions: (27)

- 1) Fragment 11 precedes fragment 6.
- 2) According to the reconstruction of 4Q418a, the discrete fragments 4Q418a 15+13 and 4Q418a 7 are placed in two consecutive layers (fig. 14). Therefore, we can estimate the amount of missing text between these two fragments, using the following procedure. This text is hypothetical, since it does not really exist but rather required by the material reconstruction. It is measured here in units of centimeters of written text, based on our knowledge of the number of lines and the column width.

In 4Q418a, there is an amount of altogether 345.6 cm of (hypothetical) text between the last preserved letter on frags. 15+13 and the first preserved letter on frag 7. The calculation runs as follows, based on fig. 14:

- (1) The distance between the end of the combined text of 4Q418a 15+13 and the end of the line (col. XV, line 6) is 4.3 cm.
- (2) There are 26 lines of 12.8 cm each of missing text, 12.8 cm each (col. XV, lines 7–32), counted from the top of column XV. The top lines are not hypothetical, as they are preserved in the parallel 4Q415 11, while the rest is merely hypothetical.
- (3) There are 8.55 cm in line 33 until the beginning of the combined text of 4Q418a 7.

In total:  $4.3 + 26 \times 12.8 + 8.55 = 345.6$  cm

Due to the resemblance of the script in 4Q418a to that in 4Q415, both in form and in size, the amount of text in a given area of the scroll can be presumed to be similar in 4Q418a and in 4Q415 (fig. 15). On

in PAM 41.459 and PAM 41.860, these words are written on a little fragment that was joined to frag. 6.

(27) Ben-Dov, Gayer and Ratzon, *Material and Digital Reconstruction*.





XV (12.8 cm)

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frgs. 15+13

XIV

Fig 14: Columns XIV and XV in 4Q418a



(4Q418a)

Fig. 15: Text written in the script of 4Q415 and in the script of 4Q418a  
(4Q418a 15,3-4; 4Q415 9, 1-2)

this basis, we can estimate the amount of text between fragments 11 and 6 in the layout of 4Q415.

While the hypothetical text is contained in two consecutive columns of the tall scroll 4Q418a, an additional blank column will be required to contain it in the layout of the shorter scroll 4Q415. In order to estimate the width of this column, we must ascertain the number of lines in 4Q415, but this is unfortunately unknown. No fragment preserves an entire column of the scroll, while the longest fragment preserves only thirteen lines (fragment 11). (28) I suggest achieving this piece of data by means of calculation.

Let us represent the total number of lines in a column of 4Q415 by the variable  $x$ . Placing the wadded fragments on a horizontal axis, according to their corresponding points of damage, as in fig. 13, indicates that there are 16 lines of text from the bottom margin to the first line of fragment 6 (fig. 13). The number of lines in this column which precede the text of fragment 6 is therefore  $x-16$ .

Calculating the number of lines that contain our hypothetical text requires knowing the width of the respective columns. The width of the column containing fragment 6 is known: 9.2 cm (§4.2). The width of the previous (blank) column can now be calculated. 345.6 cm is the total amount of hypothetical text calculated above from 4Q418a. From this number, we should subtract the amount of hypothetical text contained in the column of fragment 6:

$$(x-16) * 9.2 \text{ cm (number of lines at the top of the column, times the width of 9.2 cm)}$$

We should further subtract 4.1 cm of text that were contained at the end of the column of fragment 11, i.e. the distance from the end of the text in 4Q415 11 line 13 to the end of that line. The sum of these two factors is  $9.2*x-143.1$ .

The subtraction yields the number:

$$345.6 - (9.2*x - 143.1) = 488.7 - 9.2*x$$

Thus, there are  $488.7 - 9.2*x$  cm of text in the blank column that follows fragment 11. If we divide this number by  $x$  (the number of lines in the column), we get the approximate width of the column expressed by the variable  $x$ . Now we can calculate the possible range of the width

(28) Strugnell and Harrington, "A. Instruction," 34, 42, 57–58; cf. Tigchelaar, *Increase Learning*, 37.

of the column, by assigning variable potential values to  $x$ , i.e. potential numbers of lines in the column, between 20 to 31 lines (tab. 1, and graphically presented in fig. 16). Each possible value of  $x$  entails a respective column width.

Number of lines in the scroll ( $x$ )	Column's width (cm)
20	15.2
21	14
22	13
23	12
24	11.1
25	10.3
26	9.5
27	8.9
28	8.2
29	7.6
30	7
31	6.5

Table 1: The width of the column according to the possible value of  $x$

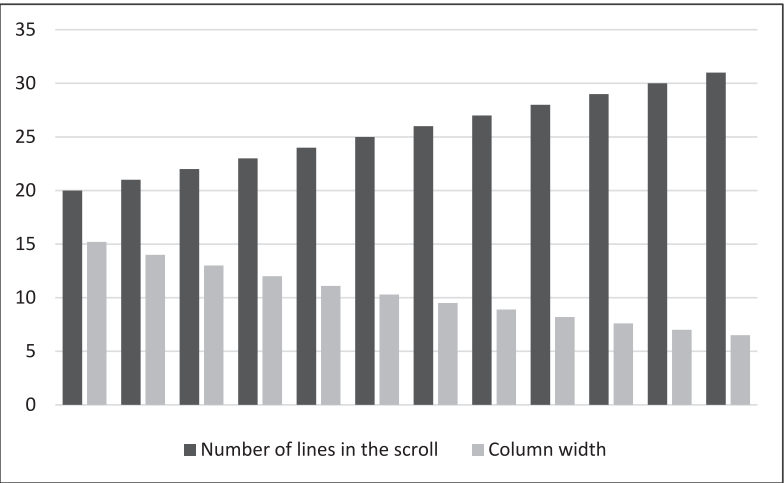


Fig. 16: Graphical presentation of the width of the column according to the possible value of  $x$

Quite naturally, as the number of lines in the scroll increases, the width of the column decreases and becomes narrower. The top lines of the table 1, corresponding to 20, 21, 22 or 23 lines in the column, yield high numbers for the width of the column: the width of the hypothetical column plus its intercolumnar margin ranges between 15.2 cm and 12 cm. These numbers are too high for a single column in this scroll, while on the other hand they are too small to accommodate two columns, which would be unreasonably narrow. The last lines of the table, with a column of 30 lines or more, also produce too narrow columns, and are thus unreasonable. On this basis, we can narrow down the possible range to 24–29 lines in the scroll, while the column width ranges from 7.6 cm to 11.1 cm, with an average of 9.2 cm.

I postulate that the original scroll contained 28 lines, which is the average number of lines per column in the copies of *Instruction* from Qumran, and the same number as in 4Q417 and 4Q418. (29) Although my suggestion is only partly fixed on material evidence, it can be tested by means of “trial and error”, because as we shall see, the specific width of the column can also be verified when fitting the fragments into columns on the digital canvas with their exact measurements.

Assuming that 4Q415 contained 28 lines, the width of the blank column between fragments 11 and 6 in the layout of the scroll is 8.2cm (tab. 1, 28 lines). The margin of error for the column width ranges from –1.6 cm to +2.9 cm, according to the possible column width range discussed above (tab. 1, 24–29 lines).

## 4.2 Column Width Based on the Text of 4Q414

As stated above, 4Q415 is an opisthograph, with the liturgical text 4Q414 attested on its verso. Two features of this opisthograph enable to determine the width of columns in the scroll with higher precision:

- 1) Generally, and quite unusually for opisthographs, 4Q415 and 4Q414 show the same height and width of columns, and the same space

(29) 4Q416 1 preserves a column of 21 lines and 4Q417 2 preserves columns of 28 lines. Tigchelaar suggests that 4Q418 is a 28-line scroll, see Tigchelaar, “הבא ביחד” in 4QInstruction (4Q418b64+199+66 par 4Q417 1i 17–19) and the Height of the Columns of 4Q418,” *RevQ* 18/4 (1998): 589–593. Ben-Dov, Gayer and Ratzon, *Material and Digital Reconstruction*, show that 4Q418a is a 36-line scroll. The hypothesis that 4Q415 is a 28-line scroll corresponds to the suggestion of SH that the sheets of 4Q415 once belonged to 4Q418, based on the similarity of the scripts in 4Q415 and 4Q418 (Strugnell and Harrington, “A. Instruction”. See also Tigchelaar, *Increase Learning*, 30). This number is higher than the average of 20 lines per column in the Dead Sea Scrolls corpus estimated by Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 78.

between columns. (30) The column borders of the two sides overlap, that is, the line marking a column on the recto also marks a column border on the verso, albeit in an upside-down manner.

- 2) The text of 4Q414 includes the repetitive liturgical formula: **וּבֵרַךְ וַעֲנָה וְאָמַר בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל**. This formula introduces the prayer that an impure person recites as part of the purification process. It is very helpful for estimating the column width in 4Q414, enabling the reconstruction of full-length lines even when some text is missing.

The formula **וּבֵרַךְ וַעֲנָה וְאָמַר בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל** appears in the verso of fragments 2 (4Q414, cols. 2i and 2ii), 6 (=4Q414 11ii) and 11 (=4Q414 13). (31) In the former case (4Q414 2i), the formula does not enable to estimate the width of the column, since more text is missing after the formula and before the next words in the fragment. However, in 4Q414 2ii, 4Q414 11 and 4Q414 13, the formula does enable an estimate of the width of the column. I discuss these cases here, with attention to the parallel liturgical text 4Q512 – 4QRitual of Purification B. (32)

#### 4Q414 2ii

Overlap: 4Q512 42–44 (underline)

Eshel noted an overlap between 4Q414 2ii and 4Q512 42–44. (33) Although the overlap is limited, the text of both copies fits well, with no attested variants. Qimron accepted the overlap, but offered a slightly different reconstruction of the missing text. The text below follows Qimron's reconstruction: (34)

(30) Fragment 6 is a slide exception to this rule. Although it preserves right margins both on the recto and in the verso, the column in 4Q415 is 0.7 cm wider than that of 4Q414. See the discussion below.

(31) To make things complicated, the fragment numbers of 4Q415 and 4Q414 are not aligned.

(32) Regarding the use of parallel text to restore gaps in a damaged text see Stegemann, "Methods," 192. Methodologically the use of parallel texts may be problematic, since it assumes a uniform and stable text in all the copies. However, in the case of 4QRitual of Purification such a use seems justified, since the four parallels between its two copies reflect a uniform text (4Q414 3/4Q512 39ii; 4Q414 27 28/4Q512 40–41 xiii; 4Q414 2ii/4Q512 42–44 ii; 4Q414 17/4Q512 33 35 iv).

(33) Eshel, "414," 141.

(34) Qimron, *Qumran Texts* II, 03. Lines 5–6 are based on the purification rituals listed in 4QRitual of Purification, and on the formula **וּבֵרַךְ וַעֲנָה וְאָמַר בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל**. The words **וְכַסֵּה אֶת בְּגָדָיו וּבֵרַךְ** are mentioned in 4Q512 11 2. (The letter *samek* in the word **וְכַסֵּה** is absent in fig. 10, because it was not preserved in the script of 4Q414). See also 4Q512 1–6 l. 5; 4Q512 54 l. 2–3; cp. Eshel, "414," 141.



Fig 17: The combined text of 4Q414 2, 4Q512 42–44 and the repetitive liturgical formula

Figure 17 shows the restored text of 4Q414 2ii (=the verso of 4Q415 2ii), and using the script of 4Q414. (35) Measuring the width of the column, according to the restored text written in the front of the scroll, is 9.2 cm.

#### 4Q414 11ii

4Q414 11 ii line 2 preserves the phrase וּבְרַךְ עַן. Eshel reads: וּבְרַךְ עַל עַמְדוֹ וְעֵנָה וְאָמַר בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה אֱלֹהֵינוּ. (36) Qimron read וְאָמַר בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה אֱלֹהֵינוּ. This is based on a grammatical consideration: the use of the *qatal* verbal form in perfect (עֵנָה) instead of the expected *weqatal* is impossible in the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls. (37) I adopt Qimron's reading here.

Figure 18 shows 4Q414 11ii with the restored text based on Qimron. The column width according to this reconstruction is 8.5 cm. As we can see by lining up the verso (4Q414 11) and the recto (4Q415 6) as in figure 17, the column in 4Q415 is wider than that of 4Q414 by 0.7 cm in the right-hand side of the column. Since all other margins and columns in both scrolls do overlap, I assume that the right margin of 4Q414 11 ii is an exceptional case, and that the left borders of both

(35) For this purpose, I copied letters from elsewhere in 4Q414, binarized them to delete the background, and pasted them in the lacunae. See Bruce Zuckerman, "Dynamics of Change in the Computer Imaging of the Dead Sea Scrolls and other Ancient Inscriptions," in *Rediscovering the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Assessment of Old and New Approaches and Methods* (ed. Maxine L. Grossman; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 66–88 (80–84).

(36) Eshel, "414," 145.

(37) Qimron, *A Grammar of the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2018), 159. The phrase 'עַל עַמְדוֹ' appears in 4Q414 13 I. 8.

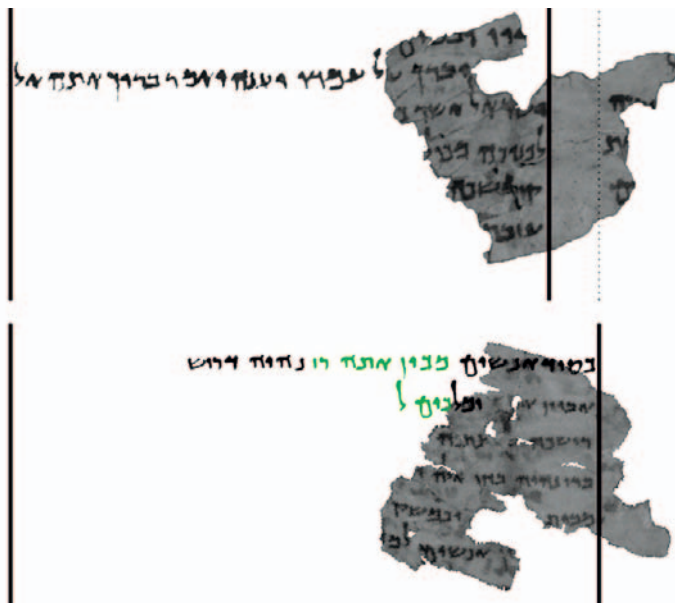


Fig. 18: 4Q414 11ii (verso) and 4Q415 6 (recto)

columns (recto and verso) overlap. Therefore, I retain the above noted estimate of the column's width in 4Q415 as 9.2 cm.

#### 4Q414 13

The formula **וּבִרְךְ וְעִנָּה וְאָמַר בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל** appears twice in 4Q414 13 (lines 6 and 8), allowing for a good estimation of column width. Figure 18 shows 4Q414 13 with the restored text, based on the formulaic text completion in lines 6 and 8. The column width according to this reconstruction is 10.1 cm. In this case, we can verify the calculation since several parallels exist in the text of *Instruction* for the respective text of 4Q415, enabling a fuller reconstruction. (38) The composite text of 4Q415 11, 4Q418a 15 13 and 4Q418 167a 167b in the recto fits well with this estimate. Figure 20 presents the composite text, with the text of 4Q418a 15 13 written in green, and the text of 4Q418 167a 167b written in blue.

(38) For the parallel text see Tigchelaar, *Increase Learning*, 37.





Fig. 19: 4Q414 13 (verso)



Fig. 20: 4Q415 11 (recto)

Fragment in 4Q414	Fragment in 4Q415	Column width (cm)
2	2	9.2
11	6	9.2
13	11	10.1

Table 2: Estimated column width in 4Q415 based on the text of 4Q414

5. ORDER OF THE FRAGMENTS IN THE RECONSTRUCTED SCROLL

Some considerations regarding the order of the wadded fragments in the reconstructed scroll are as follows:

- 1) As stated above and based on textual parallels, fragment 11 precedes fragment 6 with a column of 8.2 cm separating them. Since fragments 1 and 2 contain two columns each, it is impossible to place them between fragments 11 and 6. In addition, due to the different ruling in fragments 6 and 11, the sheet of fragment 11 probably ends before the column preserved in fragment 6. We should therefore assume the existence of a seam (i.e., the end of a sheet) between the column of fragment 11 and the blank hypothetical column (fig. 21). (39)

(39) We cannot assume that the seam is between the blank column and the column of fragment 6, since the verso of 4Q415 6 (=4Q414 11i) shows traces of the previous

If this is correct, the vertical damage at the right edge of fragment 11 may be due to the seam between the columns. The distance between the damage and the hypothetical seam ranges between 9.9 cm and 10.3 cm. As I will demonstrate in §8.1 sec. 6, this distance is approximately equal to the circumference of the scroll at this point.

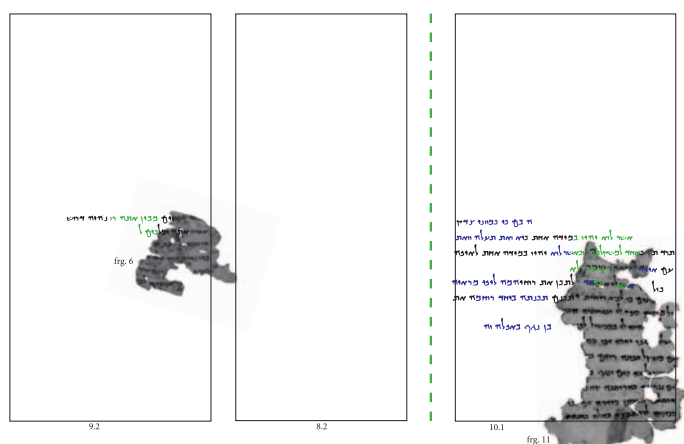


Fig. 21: Placing fragments 11 and 6 in the reconstructed scroll

- 2) Fragments 1i and 2i cannot belong to the same column as fragment 6, due to considerations of content. (40) I suggest that they are in the subsequent column, since I preferred not to add a further column in this sheet, which already comprises five columns (fig. 22).
- 3) Fragment 10i belongs to the sheet of fragments 1, 2 and 6. Fragments 7, 9 and 10ii begins the subsequent sheet (fig. 22).

## 6. INTERCOLUMNAR MARGINS

Intercolumnar margins have been completely preserved in fragments 1 and 2, and a large portion is preserved in fragment 6. The width

column. The location of the seam is important for measuring of the distances between the wadded fragments, because the space between the columns is wider when there is a seam between them.

(40) The location of fragments 6 and 1i in the same column as fragment 6 creates the senseless phrase: **לאשר ברו נהיה בהן אל**. Furthermore, although it is impossible to determine unequivocally because of the damaged state of the fragments, 4Q415 1i/4Q418 178 and 4Q415 6 probably deal with different issues: 4Q415 1i and 4Q418 178 discuss women while 4Q415 6 discusses, at least in part, the issue of poverty (**רישכה**, line 3; **הין אנשים**, line 6).



Fig. 22: The order of fragments 6, 1, 2, 10, 7, and 9 in the reconstructed scroll

of the intercolumnar margin in all of these fragments is approximately 1.1 cm. As can be seen from other scrolls that preserve consecutive columns, the width of the intercolumnar margins is not uniform throughout the scroll. However, the preserved width fits the average width in DSS, i.e., 1–1.5 cm. (41) Hence it will serve here as the width of further intercolumnar margins in the reconstructed scroll. The potential margin of error may be  $\pm 0.3$  cm. (42)

## 7. MARGINS BETWEEN SHEETS

A margin between sheets has been preserved in fragment 10. Two smaller fragments preserve such margins too: fragment 8 preserves traces of a seam in its left-hand side, and fragment 9 preserves a seam in its right-hand side (fig. 23).



Fig. 23: Seam preservation in 4Q415;  
The arc indicates traces of a seam in fragment 8

Fragment 10 indicates that the margin width is approximately 2 cm, while the margin width on the left side of the seam is 1.1 cm (according to fragments 9 and 10ii, which probably belong to the same column). The distance between the end of the lines and the seam in fragment 8 is also 1.1 cm.

Although the width of the margins between sheets is probably not uniform throughout the scroll, methodologically, these figures are the best starting point for estimating the margin width between sheets in

(41) Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 97.

(42) The potential margin of error is the average of the following numbers: (1) 0.1 (the difference between the estimated width of intercolumnar margin and the lower range of the average width of intercolumnar margins); (2) 0.4 (the difference between the upper range of the average width of intercolumnar margins and the estimated width of intercolumnar margin).

the scroll. Therefore, with the appropriate caution, I assume that the margin between the sheet of fragment 11 and the sheet of fragments 1, 2, 6, and 10 is 2 cm ( $\pm 1.1$  cm from each side of the seam). The approximated margin of error is  $\pm 0.4$  cm.

## 8. MATERIAL RECONSTRUCTION

Applying all the data presented above to a digital canvas simulating the unrolled scroll enables to reconstruct the scroll according to the principles of Stegemann Method. By measuring the distances between the corresponding points of damage, we can estimate the way the scroll was rolled up (from the end of the text toward the beginning, or vice versa), and the increase or decrease from one layer to the next.

In what follows, I will apply the Stegemann Method based on the estimated position of the fragments in the scroll before its decay. Measuring the distances between corresponding points of damage is based on the widths of the columns and margins as established above. These distances are measured on the basis of the location of fragments in a digital canvas that simulates the open scroll. In the next stage, we will explore the meaning of these data for the reconstruction of the rolled scroll.

### 8.1 The Distance between Corresponding Points of Damage on the Canvas (frags. 1, 2, 6, 9, 7, 10, and 11)

In order to calculate the distances between the corresponding points of damage in the fragments, I represented these points with the letters A–J (fig. 24). I will first concentrate on the distances between points A/B/C and D/E, and will then posit fragments 7, 9, and 10 according to these distances. The consecutive columns are named in capital roman letters (I–VII) as is customary.

1) The distance between points A and B is 20.5, based on the width of columns I and II established above (§4.1, §4.2), and the width of intercolumnar margins (§6, §7). (43) This distance is too large to constitute the circumference of one roll of the scroll, in view of the accepted assumption that these fragments belong to the middle of *Instruction*. (44) Hence, we must postulate another layer, no longer preserved, between points A and B.

2) In order to propose a reconstruction of the rolled scroll based on Stegemann Method, we have to introduce a set of circumferences

(43) Using the Adobe InDesign measuring tool, my measurement error is not more than 0.5 mm.

(44) Tigchelaar, *Increase Learning*, 30; Elgvin, *4QInstruction*, 32.

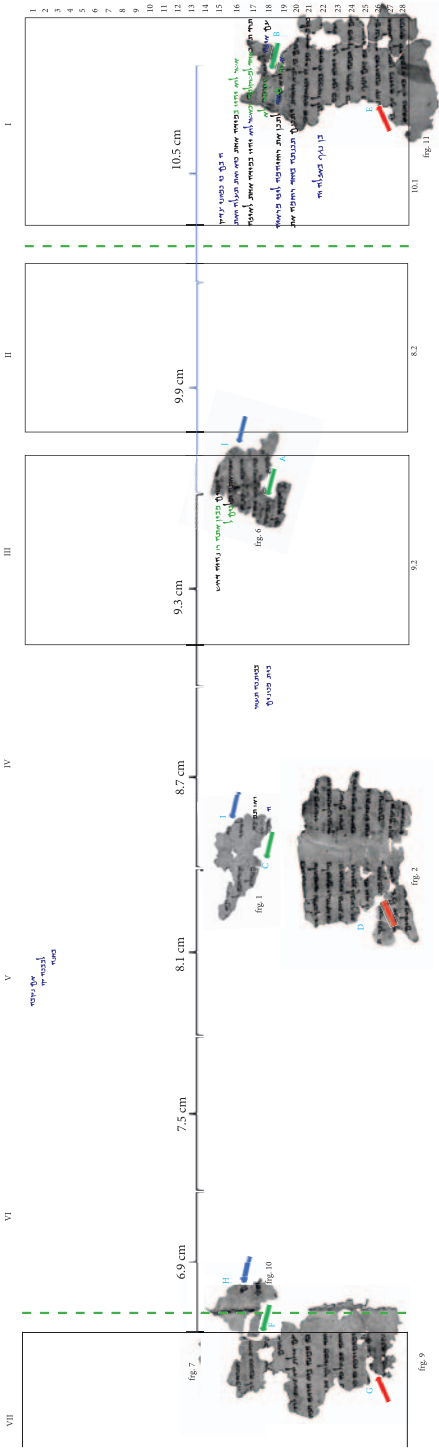


Fig. 24: Placement of frags. 1, 2, 6, 7, 9, 10, and 11 on the digital canvas

that reflects a consistent increase or decrease of the growth rate. In a complete scroll, such as 1QH<sup>a</sup>, this figure can be found by measurements of the extant fragments, but in the present case we need to determine it by placing the fragments in various distances and eliminating impossible values by trial and error. (45) Therefore, I have represented the distances between corresponding points of damage (points F/C/A/B; H/I/J; G/D/E) in the digital canvas as a set of variables: The distance between point A and the next layer (which was not preserved) is represented as a1, and the distance between this layer and point B as a2. The distance between point A and the previous layer is represented as a0, and so on. The incremental increase in distances between consecutive layers is represented with the variable d (fig. 24).

3) The distance between point A and B is 20.5 cm. This distance comprises two rolls of the scroll (a1; a2), plus the incremental growth (d).

I can now present the following equation:

a1 + a2 = 20.5  
a1 + a1 + d = 20.5  
a1 = (20.5-d)/2

4) To find the value of a1, I set variable potential values for d (the incremental increase in distance between consecutive layers). According to Stegemann, the increase rate may vary from about 0.1 cm up to about 0.5 cm. (46) Nevertheless, completely preserved scrolls show that this growth is not permanently constant. (47) In the following table I set the possible values for d: from 0.1 cm to 0.6 cm, with an increase of 0.1 cm. Each value entails a different value for a1, the length of the roll after fragment 6.

Line Number	d	a1
1	0.1	10.2
2	0.2	10.1
3	0.3	10.1
4	0.4	10
5	0.5	10
6	0.6	9.9

Table 3: Values of a1 according to the value of d

(45) As Stegemann, “Methods,” 207.  
(46) Stegemann, “Methods,” 195.  
(47) Eshbal Ratzon and Nachum Dershowitz, “The Length of a Scroll: Quantitative Evaluation of Material Reconstructions,” *Plos One*, forthcoming.



Table 2 shows that the value of  $a_1$ , that is, the circumference of the scroll from point A to its corresponding point in the unpreserved next layer of the rolled scroll, ranges between 9.9 cm and 10.2 cm.

5) Due to the poor preservation of the scroll, we cannot determine the direction in which the scroll was rolled. However, the vast majority of scrolls that were found in a rolled state had been rolled with the end of the scroll on the inside. (48) Therefore, I have assumed that this scroll, too, was rolled in that fashion, i.e. with the beginning of the text on the outside.

6) In order to reconstruct the scroll, I placed the fragments on a digital canvas according to the various values of  $a_1$  and  $d$ . I found that only the values recorded in line 6 of the table enable to place the wadded fragments according to the corresponding points of damage and the incremental growth. Having established this essential piece of data, the same rates will continue in further points of damage in fragments 7, 9 and 10 (points G, F and H, see sec. 7 below). Figure 23 shows the locations of fragments 1 and 2, according to these values:

$$a_1 = 9.9$$

$$d = 0.6 \text{ (49)}$$

#### 7) Location of fragments 7, 9, and 10:

In order to locate fragments 7, 9, and 10 based on values of  $a_1$  and  $d$ , we have to determine the number of layers that existed in the rolled-up scroll between points C/F, D/G and H/I (fig. 24). The options are as follows:

- (1) No intermediate layers existed between points C/F and D/G: In this case fragment 10i belongs to the same column as fragments 1i and 2i. According to the proposed reconstruction, the circumference of the scroll at this point is represented by  $-a_2$ , and equals to 8.1 cm. (50) The placement of fragment 10 according to this distance between the corresponding points C and F produces a column width of 7 cm, an exceptionally narrow column. Although column width in one scroll may largely vary, especially before seams, this estimation is

(48) Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 40.

(49) The leather of 4Q415 is characterized by SH as medium-thin (Strugnell and Harrington, "A. Instruction," 41). Although the value of  $d$  is greater than the upper value given by Stegemann, this increase was already attested in several layers of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> (Ratzon and Dershowitz, "Length"). Since the leather is not thick, we can conclude that the scroll was not rolled tightly.

(50) We suggested at sec. 6 that  $a_1$  equals 9.9 cm and  $d$  equals 0.6 cm, therefore:  $a_0=9.3$  cm;  $-a_1=8.7$  cm;  $-a_2=8.1$  cm;  $-a_3=7.5$  cm;  $-a_4=6.9$  cm.

implausible here since it disagrees with the estimated width of the column according to the verso, that is 9.2 cm (§4.1).

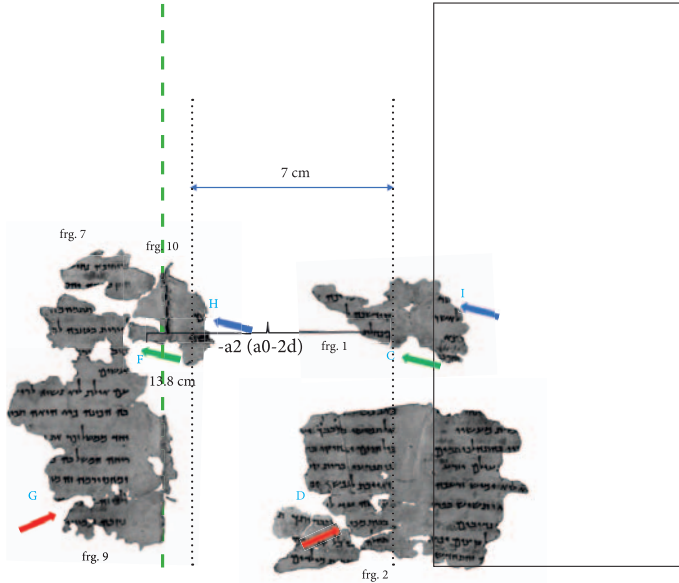


Fig. 25: Placing frags. 7, 9 and 10 assuming no additional layer between points H/I, C/F and D/G

- (2) There was one intermediate layer between the corresponding points of damage C/F and D/G: In this case, the distance between points H and I is represented by  $(-a_2) + (-a_3)$ , and equals 15.6 cm. (51) Placing fragment 10 according to this distance between the corresponding points C and F, gives a column width of 13.8 cm (fig. 26). This distance is too large to be the width of a single column, and is too narrow to be the width of two columns (including the intercolumnar margin).
- (3) Given the above, the preferred option is to assume that there were two unpreserved layers in the rolled-up scroll between points C/F and D/G. In this case, the distance between points C and F is represented by  $(-a_2) + (-a_3) + (-a_4)$ , and equals 22.5 cm. (52) Figure 23 shows the location of fragments 1, 2, 6, 7, 9, 10, and 11, based on this option, and the distances between the corresponding points of damage.

(51) See note 49.

(52) See note 49.



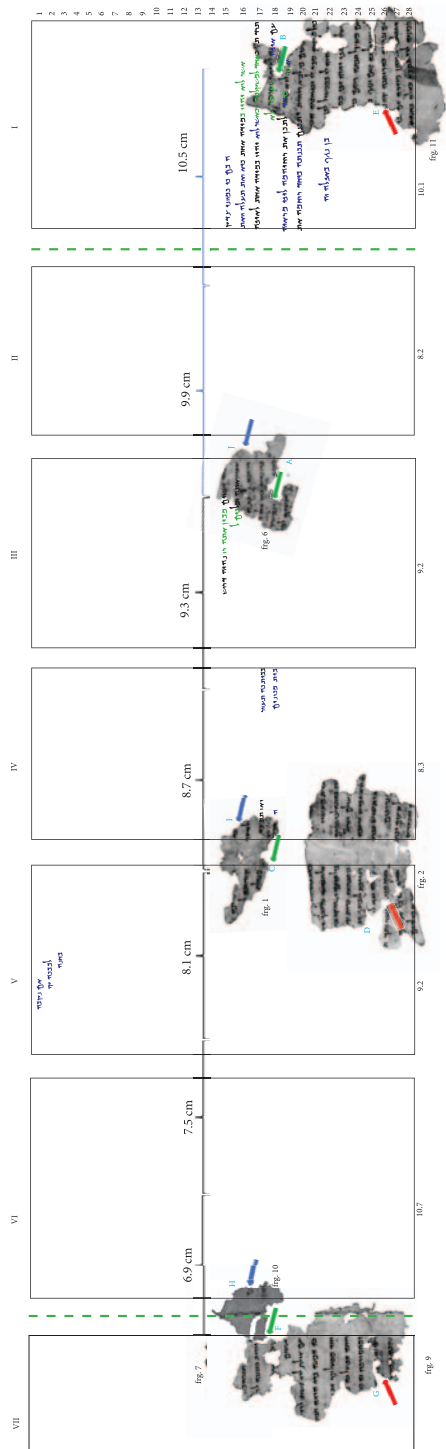


Fig. 27: Placement of frags. 1, 2, 6, 7, 9, 10, and 11 in the digital canvas

## 2) Columns V and VI:

I marked the borders of column V on the basis of the verso 4Q414: textual overlap (4Q414 2/ 4Q512 42–44) and a fixed formula. The resulting number is 9.2 cm (see above, table 2). If this is correct, subtracting the width of column V (plus the width of the intercolumnar margins) from the distance between points C/F or D/G yields a size of 10.7 cm for the width of column VI (fig. 27).

### 8.3 The Placement of 4Q415 5, 4Q415 13 and 4Q415 21 in the Digital Canvas and its Textual Significance

Three additional tiny fragments can be attached to the proposed reconstruction—fragments 5, 13, and 21. In these fragments, the corresponding points of damage are limited, and therefore the material evidence offers a lesser degree of certainty. Indeed, the reconstruction proposal is not based on these fragments. Nevertheless, since the proposal stands on its own, I would like to suggest, with due caution, that these fragments are part of the unpreserved layers of the rolled scroll.

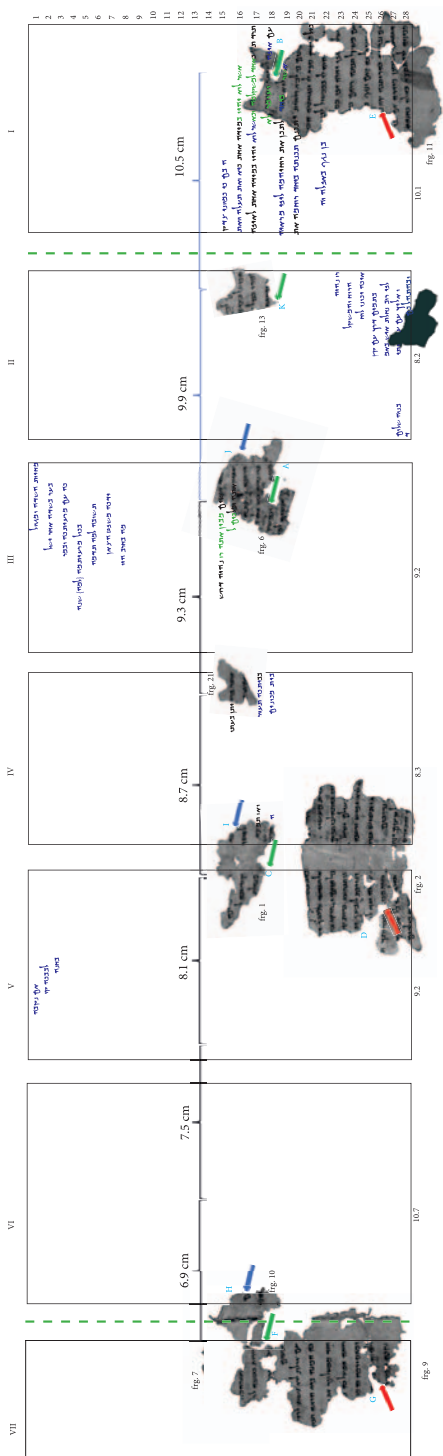


Fig. 28: Placement of frags. 5, 13, and 21 in the digital canvas

4Q415 5

Fragment 5 preserves two lines of a fragmentary text with a large part of the bottom margins. SH join this fragment with fragment 3, based on the bottom margins in the two fragments. (53) However, the text of fragment 3 is so poor that no definitive conclusion can be reached. Tigchelaar suggests that fragment 5 overlaps textually with 4Q418 172 6–7, based on the rare sequence of letters שתר. The only additional occurrence of these letters in DSS is in 4Q418 172. (54) The combined text of the fragment, according to the textual overlap, is:



Fig. 29: frg. 5

[	<u>אליך עם</u> <u>עשתרוֹסִיָה</u>	]	1
[	<u>בניה שלום ובהתהלכִם</u> <u>בכול אורִסִי</u>	]	2

*bottom margin*

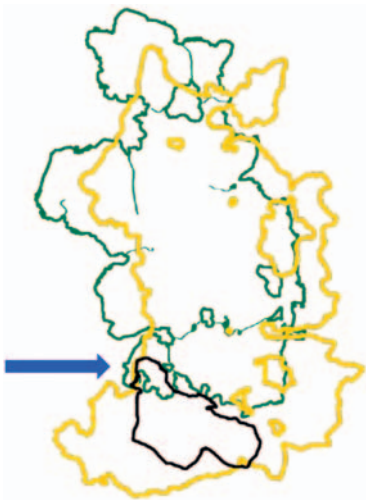


Fig. 30: Wad of frags. 5 (black), 9 (green) and 11 (yellow) and corresponding point of damage

(53) Strugnell and Harrington, “A. Instruction,” 50.  
(54) Tigchelaar, *Increase Learning*, 33.



Since fragment 5 shows the bottom margin, I have examined the possibility that it belongs to the bottom group of the wad. Indeed, figure 29 shows that one can point to its points of damage corresponding with fragments 9 and 11, and separately with fragment 2.

The size of the bottom margin can serve as a criterion for locating fragment 5. The deterioration of the scroll probably occurred from the inside out, based on the size of bottom group of the wad: fragment 9 does not show the bottom margin at all; fragment 2 shows a tiny part of the bottom margin; and fragment 11 shows a large bottom margin. Based on this criterion, the location of fragment 5 between fragments 2 and 11 seems the best option. If so, fragment 5 can theoretically be located in columns II, III or IV. The text of 4Q415 2i and 4Q415 5/4Q418 172 seems an unlikely join due to their different context; therefore, fragment 5 cannot be placed in column IV. I suggest placing it in column II, due to the placement of fragment 13, as discussed below.

#### 4Q415 13

Fragment 13 preserves 5 fragmentary lines of text and does not show any margins. Eshel joins the verso of this fragment with 4Q414 2ii. (55) Eshel does not give reason for this the join, probably based on textual considerations. Nevertheless, in the recto, the join must be rejected from a textual perspective, as shown below:



Fig. 31: frg. 13

[	ת] [	] 1
[	]ם למוס[	] 2
[	והמועל בצאנו]	3
[	]וסדו בכול ה[	4
[	]ש' למנוחת[	5

While 4Q415 2ii comprises instructions addressed to the female, the conjunction **והמועל בצאנו** in fragment 13 suggests that it is related to the flock scene, attested in further fragments of *Instruction*, such

(55) Eshel, “414,” 141–142.

as 4Q417 3, 4Q418 181, and 4Q418 239. 4Q415 5 also belongs to this scene, based on the word עֲשֶׂה רֹיֶס־יָהּ in line 2, and on the combined text with 4Q418 172.

Materially, the bottom border of 4Q415 13 resembles part of the bottom border of the fragments belonging the top wad—4Q415 1, 4Q415 6, and 4Q415 10 (fig. 32). Furthermore, when placing fragment 13 according to the recurring damage pattern, we observe an overlap between the borders of fragment 13 and those of fragments 9 and 11 (fig. 33). The fragments may possibly have been formed as a result of the same crack, preserving different sides of it in the different layers.



Fig. 32: Wad of frags. 1 (blue), 10 (red) and 13 (orange) and corresponding point of damage



Fig. 33: Corresponding damage pattern, frags. 9 (green), 11 (yellow) and 13 (orange)

If 4Q415 13 indeed belongs to the top group of the wad, I propose locating it in column II, based on the following considerations:

1. The spaces between the lines in fragment 13 fit the spaces between the lines in fragments 1, 2, and 6, indicating that they may belong to the same sheet.
2. Measuring the distances between the corresponding points of damage (A, B, C, F, and K, fig. 28) reveals that fragment 13 can be placed in column II (a1) or in column VI (-a3). Other circumferences would lead to the implausible placement of the fragment in intercolumnar margins.
3. Textually, fragment 13 fits the context of fragment 5, which also belongs to the flock scene. This being the case, I have placed these fragments in column II, the sole column in which it is possible to place both.

If fragments 5 and 13 are indeed located in column II, then there is approximately one column between fragment 11 and fragment 6 that discusses the flock scene. This is a significant insight, since the main preserved text of 4Q415 mostly deals with marriage instructions.

#### 4Q415 21

Fragment 21 preserves four lines and shows the right margin. Its text is so poor that no conclusion can be drawn about it.



Fig. 34: frg. 21

[	]°[	עַ	1
[	]אשר פּריון		2
[	]ואם תראם		3
[	]°[		4

Although the material similarity is not extensive, we can identify corresponding points with the wad (fig. 35).

The only option for placement of fragment 21 is in column IV. All other options would lead to placement of the fragment in the middle of a column, which is impossible due to the right margin, or placing its text in intercolumnar margins. In contrast, placing fragment 21 in column IV shows correlation between the beginning of the lines in this fragment and the estimated beginning of the column, as calculated in section 8. Moreover, the spaces between lines in fragment 21 fit the spaces between lines in fragments 1, 6, 10i, and 13, which are in the same sheet.

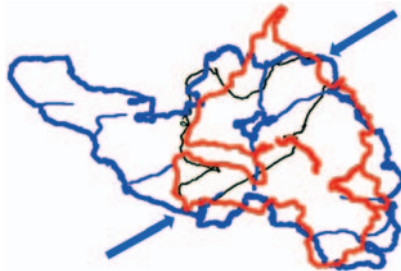


Fig. 35: Corresponding points of damage, frags. 1 (blue), 10 (red), 13 and 21 (black)

This being the case, lines 14–15 in column IV comprise a distant join of fragments 21 and 1i. The text obtained from the join and from the textual overlap with 4Q418 178 (underline) is:

13	ש[	ע] 1
14	שר[	אשר פרו] יתן בעתו 2
15	ת לאשר	ואם תרא 3
16	ואז]תמצא	בביתכ]ה] תעזור 4
17	ח] וחרפת]כה	בית מכונים 5
18	[	] 6
19	[	] 7
20	ל]ו]תהי כ	] 8
21	מ]עשיו	] 9
22	דר]כיו בהתהלכו תמים	] 10
23	בר]ת עולם וזרע	] 11
24	כ]יא לוא ימוש זרעכה	] 12
25	א] ותשוש בפרי	] 13
26	בי]נדיבים	בטנך 14
27	לכ]ל קצים יפרח	יושיבכה 15
28	ם]והתחדש	] 16

*bottom margin*

The text does not contribute to establishing or refuting the join, since the content of these two fragments is too poor for any definitive conclusions to be drawn. Note that according to the reconstruction of line 2 (based on Psa 1:3), the word פרי appears twice in the addressee's reward in this column.

## 9. MARGIN OF ERROR

This paper proposed a reconstruction of seven consecutive layers in 4Q415, applying the Stegemann method. The reconstruction was examined repeatedly and shown to correspond with all the relevant material data. Nonetheless, as in other material reconstructions, there is a margin of error.

Since the reconstruction is limited to seven columns, there is little use in carrying out detailed calculations of the margin of error for the placement of each fragment. These calculations are only required when reconstructing a long scroll. In such cases, an error in the positioning of the first fragment causes a cumulative error in the positioning of all the other fragments throughout the scroll.

In order to estimate the margin of error in the reconstruction suggested here, it is helpful to isolate the two central claims informing the reconstruction and evaluate the certainty of each separately.

### **Wad of Fragments 1, 2, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11**

The recurring patterns of damage in fragments 1, 2, 6, 7, 9, 10 and 11 constitute significant markers for the material reconstruction of the scroll and for determining the relative position of the fragments within the scroll. Since the fragments of 4Q415 were found scattered, the recurring patterns of damage were identified through the physical shape of the fragments, i.e. similarities in the borders of the respective fragments. The level of certainty in this case is lower than in cases in which fragments were preserved in a wad. Nonetheless, the fragments discussed here constitute three groups of corresponding points of damage; their positions in the scroll demonstrate incremental growth, which coheres with all three groups of corresponding points. This fact bolsters the claim that the fragments were wadded and were damaged while the scroll was rolled.

### **Order of the Fragments**

The order of the fragments is a key factor in the reconstruction process. This order is drawn from indicators such as seam preservation, intercolumnar margins, ruling, and spaces between lines. It does not depend on calculations or measurements, and therefore its level of certainty is high.

The material reconstruction is based on several distinct but mutually-compatible factors: the positioning of the fragments according to the Stegemann method; external material signs in the fragments; information drawn from the verso (4Q414); and the presumed number of lines in the scroll. The consistency between the distance between the fragments and the column division based on the verso, along with the consistency with abundant additional material evidence, bolsters the reconstruction and constitutes an important criterion for assessing its plausibility.

Moreover, the reconstruction of 4Q415 is based on the reconstruction of 4Q418a (§4.1). However, the reconstruction of 4Q415 also affects 4Q418a, as it partially fills in the missing text between the fragments of 4Q418a. Successfully applying data from 4Q418a to 4Q415, and vice versa, increases the chance that these reconstructions reflect the original state of these copies.

In addition, the reconstruction of 4Q415 also coheres with the current information drawn from 4Q418, a further copy of *Instruction*. This information includes material signs in the fragments which comprise textual overlaps with 4Q415, as well as the initial material reconstruction of 4Q418.

All of these considerations indicate that the core of the reconstruction of 4Q415 is stable and has been established on abundant evidence. The margin of error may slightly alter the values produced by the calculations or the positioning of the fragments, but will not significantly affect the order of the fragments or the arrangement of the main text of the scroll.

Hila DAYFANI

# A NEW RECONSTRUCTION OF A COPY OF DANIEL FROM QUMRAN: 4QDAN<sup>D</sup> (4Q115)

## I. INTRODUCTION

THE eight fragmentary copies of Daniel found in the caves around Qumran opened a new field of exploration for study of the book's composition and early history. As with nearly every book of the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament, the Daniel scrolls provided textual evidence of the book centuries earlier than we had previously possessed. (1) These important, early witnesses to Daniel mostly agree with the later Masoretic Text (MT), though the similarity is not complete. On occasion, minor variants align with the Greek versions (the Old Greek and Theodotion) against the MT, or with no previously known version of Daniel. (2)

Two Cave 1 copies of Daniel were the first to come to light—1QDan<sup>a</sup> (1Q71) and 1QDan<sup>b</sup> (1Q72)—published by Dominique Barthélemy in 1955, though an indispensable follow-up article, which included photographs, was added by John Trever a decade later. (3) In 1962, the single, papyrus copy of Daniel from Cave 6 (6Q7) was added

(1) For a full overview of the manuscripts and related bibliography, see Peter W. Flint, "The Daniel Tradition at Qumran," in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception, Volume 2*, ed. John J. Collins and Peter W. Flint, VTSup 83.2 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 329–67, at 330. Eugene C. Ulrich, "The Text of Daniel in the Qumran Scrolls," in *The Book of Daniel, Volume 2*, 573–85.

(2) Ulrich, "The Text of Daniel." See also Stephen Pfann, "The Aramaic Text and Language of Daniel and Ezra in Light of Some Manuscripts from Qumran," *Textus* 16 (1991): 127–37.

(3) Dominique Barthélemy and Józef T. Milik, *Qumran Cave 1*, DJD 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 150–52. John C. Trever, "Completion of the Publication of Some Fragments from Qumran Cave 1," *Revue de Qumran* 5.3 (1965): 323–44.

by Maurice Baillet. (4) Finally, a series of articles in the 1980s and 1990s by Eugene Ulrich and, in the case of 4QDan<sup>d</sup> (4Q115), by Stephen Pfann, offered preliminary editions of several Cave 4 scrolls of Daniel. (5) These articles culminated in Ulrich's full *editio princeps* of the copies from that cave—4QDan<sup>a-c</sup> (4Q112–116)—in 2000. (6) Only a few fragments now remain for most of the copies, though in several cases we have enough material to estimate, with a high degree of confidence, the size of some columns of text, or even full scrolls. For instance, we can reconstruct the sizes of some columns for 1QDan<sup>a</sup> and 1QDan<sup>b</sup>, while Ulrich has estimated the full heights and lengths of 4QDan<sup>a-c</sup> (4Q112–114).

The material and scribal features of biblical manuscripts have often been subordinated by scholars to the written text that they contain, implicitly stressing the value of the scrolls for their contribution to areas such as textual criticism and canon formation in ancient Judaism and Christianity. (7) However, there is a growing appreciation that material and scribal features of manuscripts, often dealt with in a cursory or introductory way in the past, are important reflections of what communities thought of their contents. *How* a text was written and handled—the materials chosen, the care and expense put into production and writing, evidence of ongoing use through correction and repair, hyper-textual annotations or symbols, etc.—can communicate a socio-historical dimension deserving of study in its own right, ideally placed into conversation with study of the text in a more abstracted, non-material sense. The potential value of studying manuscripts as cultural objects linked

(4) Maurice Baillet, Józef T. Milik, and Roland de Vaux, *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumran: Exploration de la falaise; Les grottes 2Q, 3Q, 5Q, 6Q, 7Q à 10Q; Le rouleau de cuivre*, DJD 3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 114–16.

(5) Eugene C. Ulrich, "Daniel Manuscripts from Qumran. Part 1: A Preliminary Edition of 4QDan<sup>a</sup>," *BASOR* 268 (1987): 17–37; *ibid*, "Daniel Manuscripts from Qumran. Part 2: Preliminary Editions of 4QDan<sup>b</sup> and 4QDan<sup>c</sup>," *BASOR* 274 (1989): 3–26; Stephen J. Pfann, "4QDaniel<sup>d</sup> (4Q115): A Preliminary Edition with Critical Notes," *Revue de Qumran* 17 (1996): 37–71.

(6) Eugene Ulrich et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XI: Psalms-Chronicles*, DJD 16 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 239–89.

(7) Even in discussions of the physical reconstruction of Qumran scrolls, it is implicit that the primary goal is not to know about the scroll as an historical object, but to know about the scrolls' *textual contents*. See, for example, the comments of Hartmut Stegemann, "Methods for the Reconstruction of Scrolls from Scattered Fragments," in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls—The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, JSPSup 8, JSOT/ASOR Monograph Series 2 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 189–220, at 207. Annette Steudel, "Assembling and Reconstructing Manuscripts," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment. Volume 1*, ed. James C. VanderKam and Peter W. Flint (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 516–534, at 523.



to reading communities has been demonstrated, for example, in William Johnson's work on the bookroll in Roman society, and in Chris Keith's recent treatment of manuscripts in early Christianity. (8) A helpful recent application in the realm of Qumran manuscripts is Eva Mroczek's discussion of the material features of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> (11Q5) in connection with the scholarly treatment of "David's Compositions." (9)

In this article, I reexamine the available fragments of 4QDan<sup>d</sup> (4Q115) and propose a new reconstruction that draws and builds upon the important, earlier work of Pfann and Ulrich. (10) Pfann's preliminary edition, published before that of Ulrich, offered two alternatives for the size of the scroll's columns and, consequently, its overall column count, height, and length. I will argue that both options are incorrect, and offer my own reconstruction based on the critical reading and placement of frg. 1 relative to frg. 2. I will conclude by assessing briefly the physical and scribal features of 4QDan<sup>d</sup> in the context of the other Daniel manuscripts. Ulrich neither discussed Pfann's two alternatives in his official DJD publication of 4QDan<sup>d</sup>, nor suggested his own reconstruction of overall column dimensions and scroll size. As a result, the size and other physical features of the scroll remain an unsettled matter.

Before beginning, I should state two methodological assumptions that guide what follows. The first is that the version of Daniel once contained in the missing portions of 4QDan<sup>d</sup> differed in minor ways from the text of the book as received in the MT. This is in keeping with what we see in the extant fragments, which contain a number of minor variants from the major editions attested in later manuscripts, such as those of the MT. (11) Most of these variations are orthographic, making very little or no substantial difference for calculations of the scroll's length. For example, the scribe of 4QDan<sup>d</sup> spelled Belteshazzar's name as בלטשאצר (3–7 2) rather than the MT's בלטשאצר (at Dan 4:6), and wrote the preposition לְנוֹא (*ketiv*; at Dan 3:24) instead as לְנו (2 ii 3). (12) The most common variant is the intermittent fluctuation between the

(8) William A. Johnson, *Readers and Reading Culture in the High Roman Empire: A Study of Elite Communities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). Chris Keith, *The Gospel as Manuscript: An Early History of the Jesus Tradition as Material Artifact* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).

(9) Eva Mroczek, *The Literary Imagination in Jewish Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 71–78.

(10) The basic approach adopted in this article overlaps in a number of ways with what many now call "the Stegemann method" for reconstructing scrolls, although I did not consult the accounts of his method while working on 4QDan<sup>d</sup>. On the method, see Stegemann, "Methods," and Steudel, "Assembling."

(11) The variants are helpfully catalogued by Ulrich in DJD 16. They are also discussed by Pfann in "The Aramaic Text."

(12) All fragment and line numbers follow those of Ulrich in DJD 16.

letters *aleph* and *heh*, as in the spelling תלתה (2 ii 3) “three” rather than the MT’s תלתא (at Dan 3:24). We occasionally find slightly more significant variants in terms of text length, such as addition of the word להדבריה “his officials” at 2 ii 5 (Dan 3:25), which uniquely replicates the similar wording from a verse earlier, or the syntactical arrangement of the MT’s לך לא אנט (Dan 4:6) as לך לא אנט (3–7 3). My second assumption is that, despite these minor differences from the MT and other later manuscript traditions, the text as a whole essentially reflects that also known from the MT, and includes all twelve chapters of Daniel. Again, this is based on the surviving evidence of Daniel at Qumran, which attests to every chapter of the book and gives no evidence of the major additions known from the Old Greek tradition. (13)

In his notes on a tentative reading at 4QDan<sup>d</sup> frg. 12 1, Ulrich opined that “[i]t may be best to suspend judgement until new technologies allow more precision.” (14) Thankfully, such new technologies are now being realized, most notably in the high-resolution spectral images in The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library, created and maintained by the Israel Antiquities Authority (<https://www.dead-seascrolls.org.il>). It is these images that have made possible the proposed reconstruction in this article, and where appropriate I will refer to the relevant images by their catalogue numbers on the Leon Levy Digital Library website. Occasionally, I will also refer to the earlier images using their original PAM (Palestine Archaeological Museum) numbers. In addition to DJD 16, these older photographs are now also available (and scalable) on the Leon Levy site.

## II. READING AND PLACING FRAGMENTS 1 AND 2: THE CRITICAL FIRST STEP

### Fragment 2, column i

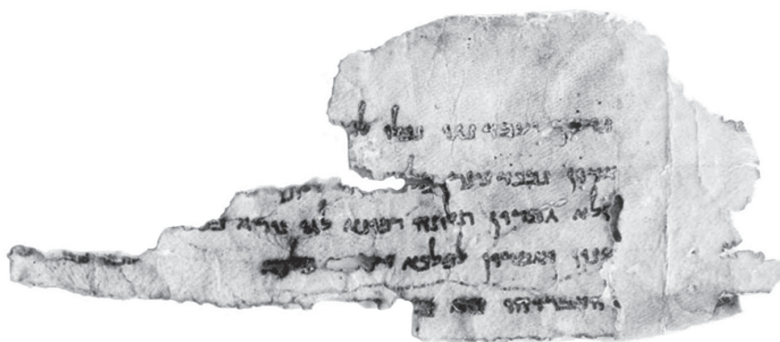
The linchpin of reconstructing some aspects of 4QDan<sup>d</sup> is a proper determination of the verses reflected at the ends of five lines on the

(13) Ulrich, “The Text of Daniel;” Pfann, “The Aramaic Text.” In DJD 16 (287), Ulrich suggests that in 4QDan<sup>c</sup> (4Q116) “the small number of lines per column, coupled with the large size of the letters, suggests... that this was a shorter manuscript. Excerpted biblical texts are not unknown at Qumran (e.g., 4QDeut<sup>j,n,q</sup>, 4QPs<sup>g,h</sup>, and 5QPs), so it is probable that only a portion of Daniel was preserved in this manuscript. It may have contained just the prayer of 9:4b–19 which would have required approximately 5 columns or slightly more than a half metre in length.” This theory may be correct, but it does not significantly affect the second assumption made above. It is clear that 4QDan<sup>d</sup> is a very different type of manuscript, which contained multiple chapters of Daniel.

(14) DJD 16: 285.

right edge of frg. 2, and the placement of frg. 1 relative to frg. 2. The right edge of frg. 2 has the scanty ink remains of the left side of a column of text, designated frg. 2 i by Ulrich, in distinction from the second column (frg. 2 ii), more fully preserved after an intercolumnar margin.

*Image 1: Fragment 2 of 4QDan<sup>d</sup> (15)*



Because frg. 2 has a preserved top margin, contains parts of two columns of text (including the beginning of the second column), and is from a known composition with a relatively stable textual tradition, it is theoretically possible to determine the number of lines in the first column (2 i). This number, in turn, would allow for a reconstruction of other columns in the scroll, and, ultimately, an estimate of the scroll's height and length. This is only possible, however, if we can identify with reasonable confidence the verses represented by the ink traces in 2 i 1–5. To date, the identification of these verses has been in doubt, making any reconstruction of the column uncertain.

Based on his close study of frgs. 1–2, Pfann believed that they contained Dan 3:5–7, transcribing 2 i 1–5 as follows:

- |              |    |
|--------------|----|
| נבוכדנצר     | 1. |
| אתון נורא    | 2. |
| כל עממיא     | 3. |
| וכל זני זמרא | 4. |
| נבכדנצר      | 5. |

Ulrich was more circumspect in his transcription, being unsure about Pfann's reading on material grounds, especially Pfann's נורא at

(15) The image is from PAM 43.084, available on the *Brill Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library Biblical Texts*.

the end of line 2. (16) Ulrich labelled the passage contained in these lines “Dan 3:??” and transcribed them as follows.

- |                |    |
|----------------|----|
| נבוכ[דְּנַצֵּר | .1 |
| ו[             | .2 |
| ו[             | .3 |
| מֶרָא          | .4 |
| רֶוֶר          | .5 |

The reading of these lines is no easy task, given their advanced state of deterioration. However, some details can be now seen in the full set of images available through the Leon Levy Digital Library, leading to my proposal that these lines contain remnants of Dan 3:8–12. I provide below my own transcription of 2 i 1–5, followed by notes on the readings and some general comments. For the sake of later discussion, I provide a full reconstruction of these lines, based generally on the later MT text, but adjusted slightly according to the orthography displayed in the extant fragments of 4QDan<sup>d</sup>. (17)

- |   |    |   |
|---|----|---|
| ענו ואמרין לנבכ[דְּנַצֵּר               | .1 | גברין כשדאין ואכלו קרציהון די יהודיא      |
| מלכא מלכא לעלמין חיי                    | .2 | אנת מלכא שמת טעם די כל אנש די ישמ[ע       |
| קל קרנא משרוקיתא                        | .3 | קיתרוס שבכא פסנתרין וסיפוניה וכל זני זמרא |
| יפל ויסגד לצלם דהבה                     | .4 | ומן די לא יפל ויסגד יתרמא לנו אתון        |
| איתי גברין יהודין די מנית יתהון על עבדת | .5 | מדינתא                                    |

### *Notes on readings:*

Line 1: As noticed by Pfann and mentioned by Ulrich, the earliest PAM photograph, taken in May, 1953 (PAM 40.620), contains a small piece of skin that extends from the main body of the fragment and is missing in all later images. This piece contains the lower portions of letters that fit well with the proposed reading דְּנַצֵּר. On later images, remnants of the last two letters can still be seen. The lower, horizontal stroke of the *tsade*, which runs into the vertical stroke of the following *resh*, matches closely the ductus of the final two letter of the name נבכד נצר in 2 ii 2. On image B-367533, the *resh* can be read with confidence,

(16) Ulrich wrote that “Pfann suggests 3:5–7, which appears the most probable if a text similar to that preserved in M was followed, but it is also problematic” (DJD 16: 281).

(17) I use a supralinear dot when the letter is partially missing, but can still be read with a high degree of confidence based on material (not contextual) grounds. A supralinear circlet is used when the material remains indicate a letter, which can be guessed at with a moderate or low degree of confidence.

with its full outline preserved along the outer edge, and so there is really no need for the superscripted dot of Pfann and Ulrich. There is a very high probability that the name Nebuchadnezzar was written at the end of this line.

Line 2: As seen in the considerably different transcriptions of Pfann and Ulrich, the last letter of this line cannot be read with confidence, despite Ulrich's having used a supralinear dot, rather than a circlet. Pfann admitted that his reading is "possible but is only conjecture." (18) All that can be discerned in the images is the negative outline of the oblique, upper stroke of a letter, descending from left to right. On some of the images, the outline of this stroke appears simply to be a part of the jagged edge of the fragment, being very difficult or impossible to see. On others, most especially PAM 42.167, the faint remains of residual, blurred ink from the edge of the stroke are visible. This stroke could perhaps be the upper part of a *vav*, as Ulrich supposed, but it might also be several other letters. I read it here as the left, upper stroke of an *ayin* based on a combination of material and contextual considerations, though primarily on the latter given the ambiguity of the material evidence. The most we can say is that the material evidence *allows for* the reading of *ayin*, especially considering that the scribe typically used a right/lower oblique stroke for that letter that did not extend far past the left/upper stroke. For examples of this, see frg. 2 ii 1, 4. On the contextual evidence, see the Comments section, below.

Line 3: The last letter of this line really cannot be read with any confidence, as recognized by Ulrich. One could argue for placing a perforated circle at the end of the line representing an unreadable letter, based on the very small amount of ink perhaps discernable on some of the images (e.g., PAM 42.167, PAM 42.635). However, I prefer not to transcribe a letter because of the tenuousness even of this possible ink trace.

Line 4: The *aleph* is abundantly clear on all of the images, as is the lower stroke of what must be a *resh* or *dalet* preceding it, given the spacing. The scant remains of the upper stroke of this penultimate letter can also be seen near the upper, right corner of the *aleph*, again fitting well with the expected ductus of *resh* or *dalet*. The ink remains and negative imprint of a lower, horizontal stroke is also clear, as noted by Ulrich. This could be any of several letters, as written by this scribe, though most likely *kaph*, *mem*, *nun*, *peh*, or *tsade*. (19) The critical observation for this reading was already made by Ulrich, that there is

(18) Pfann, "4QDaniel<sup>d</sup>," 62.

(19) The lower, horizontal stroke of *bet* is typically more flat (less oblique) with this scribe than we find here, and so is much less likely.

clearly another, vertical stroke, *which is not that of the following resh/dalet*, intersecting the left tip of this base stroke. Comparing all of the material evidence with the lower portion of the word נורא in 2 ii 3, we find that the two match very closely, with the downstroke of the *vav* intersecting the left tip of the *nun*'s base stroke similarly in both locations. In my opinion, the reading נורא works very well with the ink remains. זמרא, however, is much less plausible because of the vertical stroke read here as *vav*, preceding what I read as *resh*.

Line 5: The new images in the Leon Levy Digital Library are helpful for this line (though, see also PAM 42.635). When B-367533 is enlarged, there can be no doubt that the last letter of the line is *tav*, not *resh* as thought by Pfann and Ulrich. The foot at the bottom of the left stroke can reasonably belong only to a *tav*, and is clearly seen on the images. In fact, most of the letter is still visible. Ulrich maintained that the last letter appears to be a *resh* "with a tear to its left, unrelated to the corrosive ink, creating the impression of a *taw*." (20) However, what remains at the bottom, left foot of the *tav* is not a tear, but ink, as can be seen on the color image B-367532 (where a tear would be visible). Ulrich may have been referring to the small tear near the upper joint of the *tav*'s two strokes, but this is not determinative for the identification of the letter. The bottom half of the penultimate letter can also be seen, with a horizontal base stroke. This could be only a few letters, and in my opinion is clearly a *nun*, the horizontal base of which intersects and extends past the right, vertical leg of the *tav*. Only the faint tops of the preceding few letters remain, but the contours of their negative imprints fit with the word מדינת, on which see further the Comments section, below.

### Comments:

The most critical piece of evidence for determining the contents of these lines is found in line 5. If it is accepted that the last letters are נת, or something materially similar, then we can narrow significantly the possible verses with which we must be dealing. This letter combination (or something similar) at the end of a word is found only a handful of times within a reasonable distance of the verse at the beginning of 2 ii, Dan 3:23. (21) The most viable options are: מדינת (Dan 3:1, 12), חנכת (Dan 3:2, 3), מנית (3:12), and הקימת (3:12, 14), and these can be tested in connection with the ends of preceding lines in order to find the best match. As I will suggest below, we must also account for frg. 1. We can be reasonably confident that the end of line 4 reads נורא

(20) DJD 16: 281.

(21) I consider a reasonable distance to be the beginning of Dan 3, the farthest point of which (Dan 3:1) would make for a very large column height.

(or, less likely, זמרא) and the end of line 1 reads נבכדנצר, allowing us to work backwards from the options for line 5, to test whether any of them cohere with the proposed words at the ends of lines 4 and 9. We already know the following column (2 ii) has an average of about 37 letters per line, providing a beginning figure for the expected number of letters per line in 2 i. (22) We might expect, then, the last letter of נורא to be approximately 40 letters prior to the last letter of line 5, and the last letter of נבכדנצר at around 160 letters before the last letter of line 5, leaving a margin of error for a somewhat different column width (quite usual among the Qumran scrolls) and possible *vacats* used by the scribe to distinguish sense-units in the text (discussed below). The clear best candidate from the available options is the transcription and reconstruction provided above, taking the last word of line 5 to be מדינת from Dan 3:12, especially when combined with the material evidence of the ink remains, which also favors the reading מדינת. Assuming line 1 to have begun with the word גברין in Dan 3:8, the reconstruction results in consecutive lines of approximately 48, 43, 49, 48, and 43 letters, with an average letter count of just over 46 per line, and an approximate column width of 12–12.5 cm. This is nearly 9 letters more per line than in the following column, 2 ii, which measured approximately 10.5–11 cm wide. It is also clear, from a physical reconstruction of each line, based on letter and word lengths from the extant fragments, that there must have been *vacats* of approximately 10 mm in line 1, 15 mm in line 4, and 20 mm in line 5. This coheres exceptionally well with what we know from the extant fragments, where the scribe typically (though not always) left a noticeable *vacat* between what would later become verse divisions or other pauses in the Masoretic system. (23) For example, at the verse division between Dan 3:23 and 24 (a *petuhah* in the MT) the scribe left approximately 30 mm of empty space at the end of a line (2 ii 1, reconstructed), a 12 mm space between Dan 4:5 and 6 (3–7 2), and a 6 mm space between Dan 4:12 and 13 (3–7 12). Pfann and Ulrich reconstructed a number of other such *vacats*, and correctly observed that marking pauses in this way was a regular practice of the scribe of 4QDan<sup>d</sup>. As it happens, the three *vacats* required in my reconstruction coincide with lines where there was a sense-division later marked by a verse break, and so in each case the *vacat* makes good sense, and should even be expected. There is no verse division, and hence no *vacat*, in line 3. Line 2 does contain a verse break, but apparently not a significant *vacat*. However, it should be noted that the scribe appears not always to have left an open space

(22) I count only the actual letters, based on the text in DJD 16, and not also the word spaces (as Ulrich does).

(23) This phenomenon is discussed at length by Pfann, “4QDaniel<sup>d</sup>,” 45–53.



where later verse divisions or markers of pause occur, as seen in Pfann's and Ulrich's reconstructions of Dan 7:17–18 and 19–20 (frgs. 8–9). (24) Indeed, the break between Dan 3:9 and 10 on 2 i 2 is quite weak in terms of its sense-division, being a small pause within a single statement made to Nebuchadnezzar by his Chaldean advisors. It is easy to see why the scribe of 4QDan<sup>d</sup> considered this line not to contain a sense-division meriting a *vacat*, even if the Masoretes later provided a pause here.

### Situating fragment 1

With a preliminary reconstruction of frg. 2 i in place, we can now address how frg. 1 fits into this picture. If it is accepted that 2 i 1–5 contained Dan 3:8–12 (as opposed to Pfann's proposal of Dan 3:5–7), and that frg. 1 contained Dan 3:8–10 (as both Pfann and Ulrich assumed), then it becomes quickly apparent that frg. 1 should be placed earlier in the same lines as 2 i 1–3. In my opinion, the fact that frg. 1 contained successive lines from Dan 3:8–10 is undoubtedly correct: the words מלכא שמת (Dan 3:10) can be read with total confidence in 1 2, and the remains of the bottom of letters in 1 1 fit perfectly the phrase קרציהון די יהודיא (Dan 3:8). There are approximately 47 letters counting from the first *yod* of יהודיא (1 1) to the *aleph* of מלכא (1 2), which occupy approximately the same position on successive lines. (25) This number fits perfectly with (and further reinforces) the proposed reconstructed line lengths for 2 i 1–5, provided above. The following reconstruction of 2 i 1–5 incorporates frg. 1 into lines 1–3. (26)

1. [גברין כשדאין ואכלון] קרצ'יהון די יהודיא] ענו ואמרין לנבכ[דנצר
2. [מלכא מלכא לעלמין] ה"י אנת מלכא שמת ט[עם די צל אנש די ישמ]ט
3. [קל קרנא משרוקיתא קיתרוס] שבכא פסנת[רין וסיפניה וכל זני זמרא]
4. [יפל ויסגד לצלם דהבא] ומן די לא יפל ויסגד יתרמא לגו אתון [נורא
5. [יקדתא] איתי גברין יהודין די מנית יתהון על עבדות [מד'נת

In an effort to portray more accurately the physical reconstruction, I have drawn Illustration 1, below. (27)

(24) Pfann, "4QDaniel<sup>d</sup>," 67. DJD 16: 284.

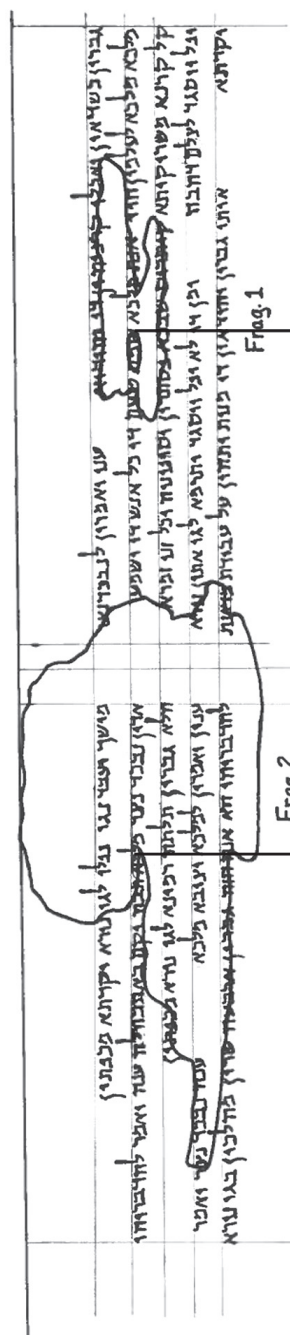
(25) The letter count adjusts for the known orthographic preferences of the scribe from the extant fragments.

(26) Because a modern font is being used, along with brackets to assist in the reconstruction, the alignment does not perfectly reflect the actual, physical arrangement of the fragments. For a more accurate depiction, see Illustration 1.

(27) The drawing is intended to reflect the approximate spacing of the fragments, sizes of *vacats*, and widths of columns. Care has also been taken to imitate the word spacing and letter size of the extant fragments.



Illustration 1: Reconstructed tops of two columns containing frags. 1-2 (28)

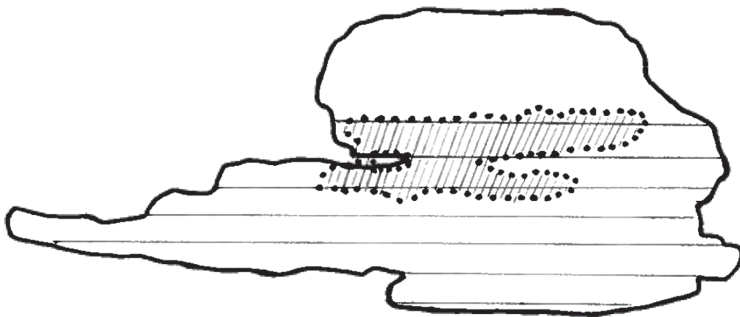


(28) All drawings in this article are my own.

Physical details of the fragments support this placement of frg. 1 relative to frg. 2. One such detail is the distances between lines 1, 2, and 3 on both fragments. The horizontal ruling on frg. 2 can be clearly seen to extend through the intercolumnar margin between 2 i and 2 ii, making for the same line spacing in both columns. In 2 ii 1–3, there is noticeably more space between lines 1 and 2 (7 mm from the ruling mark of line 1 to that of line 2) than between lines 2 and 3 (6 mm). If frg. 1 belongs to lines 1–3 of the preceding column, we would expect to find the same situation there, and this is precisely what we do find. (29)

Another supporting detail is the damage pattern of frg. 1 compared with that of frg. 2, especially the area at the left edge of frg. 1 and the corresponding area on frg. 2, at the extant ends of 2 ii 1–3. When we align and place frg. 1 over the corresponding area of 2 ii 1–3, the similarity of the damage pattern becomes clear, and we can surmise that frg. 1 was originally located at this position on either the preceding or succeeding revolution of the scroll relative to frg. 2. The measurement between overlapping points on frgs. 1 and 2 is approximately 10.5 cm, providing us with the circumference of the rolled scroll at this point when it was damaged. This distance would result in an approximately 3.4 cm (~1.3 in) diameter at this revolution of the scroll, when rolled. The position of the fragments as originally situated when rolled is shown in Illustration 2, below.

*Illustration 2: Fragments 1 and 2 superimposed as originally rolled*



In light of the combined evidence provided above, it is highly probable that the beginning lines of 4QDan<sup>d</sup> 2 i (along with frg. 1) contained the text of Dan 3:8–12, not Dan 3:5–7 as argued by Pfann and endorsed haltingly by Ulrich. (30)

(29) The measurement assumes a 2 mm average letter height for line 1, based on contextual analysis from frgs. 2 and 1 2.

(30) DJD 16:281.

## III. ESTIMATING THE SCROLL'S DIMENSIONS

Based on the reconstruction of frgs. 1–2 proposed above, we should be able to deduce the number of lines in the first of the two columns (1+2 i). The number of letters between the *tav* of מְדִינָה (end of 2 i 5; Dan 3:12) and the *mem* of מִישָׁךְ (beginning of 2 ii 1; Dan 3:23), based on the MT and adjusted slightly for the orthography of the extant fragments, is 914. Calculating from the average letter count for 1+2 i 1–5, which is 46.2, 20 additional lines would equal 924 letters. This is the closest possible letter count to 914, and strongly suggests a full column of 25 lines: the 5 lines of 1+2 i 1–5 plus an additional 20 lines now missing entirely. The fact that the actual letter count of 914 is around 10 letters—approximately 20 mm of written text—less than the projected 924, makes good sense, since lines 1–5 do not contain any of the larger *vacats* that we find, for example, on frgs. 2 ii and 8. In other words, based on evidence from other fragments, we should not be surprised by 20 mm more open space dedicated to *vacats* over the course of lines 6–25 than the average in lines 1–5 would suggest. Because there are two larger narrative pauses in our hypothetical lines 6–25 (occurring after Dan 3:12 and 18, each marked by a *setumah* in the MT), this is precisely what we might have expected. Since the reconstructed lines of this column do not contain a major sense division, such as a transition between two major stories, or chapters, we would not expect an exceptionally large *vacat* (e.g., an entire empty line) to occur, and so there is no compelling reason to add one or more full lines to the column in excess of the reconstructed 25. Given all of the considerations above, it is most plausible to estimate that the column represented by frgs. 1+2 i contained 25 lines.

A reconstruction of 25 lines results in a column height of approximately 15.5 cm, measuring from the first horizontal, ruled line to the bottom of medial letters on line 25 (i.e., what Tov calls the “writing block”). This would place 4QDan<sup>d</sup> just into Tov’s category of scrolls with a “large-sized” writing block, meaning that it fits very comfortably within the range of column sizes for Qumran manuscripts. (31) To determine the overall height of the scroll, we must add the top margin, which based on fig. 2 seems to have been about 16 mm, and the bottom margin. What appears to be a bottom margin is preserved to a height of 9 mm on fig. 9, but based on the data collected by Tov it was almost surely larger than this on the original, undamaged scroll. As Tov has shown, Qumran leather scrolls typically have slightly larger bottom

(31) Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, STDJ 54 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 86.

margins than top margins. (32) Working from Tov's data, we can estimate that the bottom margin would likely have been approximately 20–22 mm, resulting in an overall, estimated scroll height of 19–19.5 cm. (33) This makes 4QDan<sup>d</sup> somewhat larger than Tov's average of 20 lines and 14–15 cm height for scrolls from the Qumran corpus as a whole, but still well under the size of large scrolls like the Genesis Apocryphon (34–37 lines per column, with a total scroll height of ~31 cm). (34)

Having established thus far the height of one column, and the widths of two columns, we can begin to make larger projections of the scroll's size, and to test the placement of the remaining fragments within the reconstructed scroll. Most Qumran scrolls tend to maintain a stable number of lines per column throughout the scroll, though it is not uncommon to find fluctuations of 1 line from column to column, or sheet to sheet. In what follows, I assume a stable line count of 25 lines per column, recognizing that minor variations in line numbers would affect the overall reconstruction, but in only a minor way. (35) Such minor variation is unlikely to change the total number of columns. It is also worth considering at this point the manuscript and scribal quality of 4QDan<sup>d</sup>, both of which are very good. Lower quality manuscripts tend to have greater variation in measurements such as line number per column and line length, while higher-quality manuscripts tend to have less variation. Although we cannot know for certain what the many missing columns of 4QDan<sup>d</sup> contained, the extant fragments suggest that they were laid out and inscribed with a high level of care and uniformity.

The average letter count per line and overall width of the column containing frgs. 1+2 i have already been discussed above, with a 46.2 letter per line average and a width of 12–12.5 cm. (36) The column represented by 2 ii has an average letter count per line of 37.4 and a width of 10.5–11 cm. Given that the maximum number of letters per line (with no *vacat* present) is 43 for 2 ii, and that several of the lines contain

(32) Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 99–102. This ratio occurs more than twice as often as scrolls with roughly equal top and bottom margins, while scrolls with larger top margins than bottom margins are quite rare.

(33) It is worth remembering that these scrolls were hand-made, and often varied in height over the course of the scroll. Consequently, any precise measurement of height is likely to be inaccurate, depending on where one measures in the scroll. I only propose here that we can expect the height of the scroll to have been near 19 cm, within a ~1 cm range of fluctuation, at any given point.

(34) Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 84.

(35) On the topic of consistency in number of lines per column, see Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 93–96.

(36) The total count of letters from the first 5 lines is 235, to which should be added the 914 letters of the text proposed above for the remainder of the column (1,149 in total). The resulting average letters per line at 25 lines in the column is 45.96.

quite large *vacats*, we might expect the average for the entire column to be slightly higher than 37.4, and so I will work with an average of 38 letters. (37) Ulrich's reconstruction of the text associated with frgs. 3–7 (Dan 4:5–9, 12–16) and 8–9 (Dan 7:15–23) allows for a reasonable estimate of the two columns from which those fragments came, helping to calibrate further the average width of columns in the scroll. For the column once containing frgs. 3–7 (discussed further below), we can estimate the average number of letters per line at approximately 45, with the largest counts (in lines with no *vacat*) being around 50 letters. This is very similar to the column containing frgs. 1+2 i, and the reconstructed width can likewise be estimated at 12–12.5 cm. Fragments 8–9 represent a narrower column with an average letter count of 38, very similar to the column represented by 2 ii. However, it seems likely that the lines from which this estimate is made (frgs. 8–9 2–14) contained less empty space for *vacats* than did 2 ii 1–5, and so I propose a slightly narrower column width for frgs. 8–9, at approximately 10–10.5 cm. With these two columns now added to the discussion, we have two wider columns (1+2 i and 3–7) averaging around 46 letters per line and measuring 12–12.5 cm, and two narrower columns (2 ii and 8–9) averaging around 38 letters per line and measuring 10–11 cm wide.

We could simply take the average width of these four columns for estimating the remaining column sizes and overall length of the scroll,

(37) I consider the first 5 lines to have 37, 43, 30, 38, and 39 letters, respectively. The fifth line can be reconstructed with some confidence, in my opinion, based on the fact that the first word of 2 ii 6 reads נֹרָא. The following word break is quite clear on B-367533, and both the word-length and the visible tops of the letters conform closely to the same word in 2 ii 3. Having line 6 begin with נֹרָא also makes good sense in terms of the letter count in the preceding line, which then matches closely the count of the other lines, unlike Pfann's reconstruction, which is clearly wrong based on letter count alone. As Ulrich rightly observed, Pfann's problem was that he was trying to maintain a text close to the MT, which does not seem possible here because two words closely following נֹרָא in Dan 3:25 (לֹא and וַחֲבַל) have *lameds* that are clearly not present where they would be expected in line 6. Pfann opted for an unreasonably long line 5 to accommodate these words, while Ulrich simply noted the problem and moved on. It should be noted that 4QDan<sup>d</sup> already presents a text different than the MT in the preceding line, where the indirect object לַהֲדַבְּרוֹהִי follows עֲנֵה וְאָמַר, most likely an adjustment to the identical phrase in the preceding verse (Dan 3:24). In line 6, it appears likely that a similar harmonization to common phrasing elsewhere has taken place, since the word following נֹרָא likely reads יְקִידָתָא (cf. Dan 3:6, 11, 15, 17, 20, 21, 23; though spelled here more fully, with a *yod* after the *qoph*), based especially on the first two letters, the tops of which can be seen well on B-367533. If this is correct, the *lamed* of the word that presumably followed נֹרָא יְקִידָתָא, וַחֲבַל, would occur just off the left edge of the fragment, based on comparable measurements of word spaces and letter sizes elsewhere on the extant fragments. Gathering up the comments above, I read the beginning of 2 ii 6 as follows: נֹרָא יְקִידָתָא [וַחֲבַל].

which would be approximately 42 letters per line, but I would like to raise one additional, complicating factor—the number and distribution of sheets—before this average is estimated. More specifically, I wish to ask whether the fact that two of the columns are notably narrower than the other two may provide a clue to the placement of these columns on their respective sheets. As noted by Tov, it is often, but by no means always, the case that narrower columns appear at the ends of sheets. (38) This was evidently due to the person who ruled the scroll preferring a fairly standard column size, but then having to work with whatever was left at the end of a given sheet in relation to that preference. In most cases, this meant that the last column could not be the full width preferred by whoever did the ruling. A scroll of similar quality to 4QDan<sup>d</sup> in which this happens regularly is the Genesis Apocryphon (1QapGen). Occasionally, a final column might be larger than the others on a sheet for the same reason, and sometimes it seems that the worker planned in advance to achieve uniform column widths throughout a sheet (e.g., 11QTargJob). In yet other cases, we find a recognizably narrower column in the middle of a sheet, as in the fourth column of the second sheet of the Cave 1 War Scroll (1QM). Those preparing manuscripts clearly differed in their precision when calculating and ruling column widths on individual sheets. However, since narrower columns often do occur at the ends of sheets, I am going to proceed on the assumption that this was the case in 4QDan<sup>d</sup>, and that the narrower columns represented by frgs. 2 ii and 8–9 occurred at the ends of their respective sheets. As a result, the average column width for the purposes of reconstruction should be skewed slightly towards the wider columns represented by frgs. 1+2 i and 3–7, which in this hypothesis were placed prior to the ends of their respective sheets, and so are more representative of the standard column width for the scroll. Further below, I will argue that the scroll was made from 7 sheets, with a typical sheet having 4 columns. On this basis, I estimate that a typical sheet would have a distribution of approximate column widths (in cm) as follows: 12, 12, 12, 10. Adding 1.5 cm for each of the 3 intercolumnar margins and a 1 cm margin at each end of the sheet to the stitched seam results in a total sheet length of 50–55 cm, which is well within the normal range of sheet widths for scrolls of comparable quality to 4QDan<sup>d</sup> at Qumran. (39) For an overall calculation of scroll length, I will estimate the average column width per sheet, and so for the scroll more

(38) Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 82–84.

(39) For observations on the lengths of sheets used in the Qumran scrolls, see George Brooke's discussion of the sheet size used for 4Q252, in G. Brooke et al., *Qumran Cave 4. XVIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3*, DJD 22 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 190.

generally, at 11.5 cm, with approximately 43-44 letters per line. I must stress at this juncture that these are *estimated, hypothetical* averages based on the extant fragments, used to give us a *general sense* of the scroll's original length and other physical features. The distribution of columns suggested above is among the most speculative aspects of my reconstruction. Consequently, I fully expect that the averages would prove to be inaccurate in their finer details, were we able to compare them with the original scroll. Nevertheless, they allow us to estimate some basic features of the scroll with a fairly high degree of plausibility.

At 25 lines per column, and working with an average of 43 letters per line (11.5 cm column width), we may begin by asking how many columns of text preceded our first extant column, represented by frgs. 1+2 i. The text of Daniel preceding the reconstructed word גִּבְרִין (Dan 3:8) in the first line of 1+2 i consists of just over 5,200 letters (give or take a few based on orthographic difference), which divided by the 43 letter-per-line average equates to 121 lines of text. This is almost exactly the amount of text we would expect to fill 5 columns (i.e., approximately 125 lines), with either 4 or 6 columns throwing the reconstruction off sufficiently to consider these options much less likely. The 4-line discrepancy in a reconstruction that posits 5 columns preceding what I will now begin to call col. VI (represented by frgs. 1+2 i), suggests that a greater amount of space was used for *vacats* (approximately 4 lines) in these missing columns than in the extant fragments of 4QDan<sup>d</sup>. (40) This makes quite good sense, since we may reasonably expect the scribe to have left a generous space at the breaks between individual stories (what we now designate as chapters) based on the documented *vacat* practices mentioned above. The Genesis Apocryphon may again be helpful as a comparison, since the manuscript preparation and scribal work of the two scrolls are quite similar, despite the Apocryphon's larger format. In the Apocryphon, small- and medium-sized *vacats* are regularly left at pauses between minor units within a story, but at more significant breaks between stories, and at major sub-units within a story, we find blank spaces of around 1 to 1.5 lines (5.28, 11.10, 12.6, 13.12, 16.12-13, 18.22-23, 22.26). If large breaks like these were also used between stories and major sub-units by the scribe of 4QDan<sup>d</sup>, a reconstruction of 5 columns preceding that containing frgs. 1+2 i works exceptionally well. This, in turn, helps to confirm, by another line of reasoning, the estimates proposed above on which the reconstruction is based.

(40) Pfann ("4QDaniel<sup>d</sup>," 61) designated my col. VI as "Col. V" in his edition, and my col. VII as "Col. VI".

What about the text that came after what I will now call col. VII, represented by frg. 2 ii? Based on letter counts similar to those done above, using an average letter count per line of 43, we can estimate the following number of columns. Rows shaded in grey indicate columns for which we have some assured or possible physical evidence among the extant fragments.

Sheet (?)	Column	Estimated contents
1	—	Blank area (approximately 1 column's width?)
	I	Dan 1:1–17
	II	Dan 1:17–2:13
	III	Dan 2:13–28
2	IV	Dan 2:28–43
	V	Dan 2:43–3:8
	VI	Dan 3:8–23; frgs. 1+2 i (=Dan 3:8–12)
	VII	Dan 3:23–4:1; frg. 2 ii (=Dan 3:23–25)
3	VIII	Dan 4:1–18; frgs. 3–7 (=Dan 4:5–9, 12–16)
	IX	Dan 4:18–32; frgs. 10–11? (=Dan 4:??)
	X	Dan 4:32–5:12; frg. 12 (=Dan 5:5)
	XI	Dan 5:12–23
4	XII	Dan 5:23–6:10
	XIII	Dan 6:10–21
	XIV	Dan 6:21–7:9
	XV	Dan 7:9–23; frgs. 8–9 (=Dan 7:15–23)
5	XVI	Dan 7:23–8:11
	XVII	Dan 8:11–9:5
	XVIII	Dan 9:5–19
	XIX	Dan 9:20–10:5
6	XX	Dan 10:5–21
	XXI	Dan 11:1–18
	XXII	Dan 11:18–37
	XXIII	Dan 11:37–12:8
7	XXIV	Dan 12:8–13
	—	Blank space for remainder of col. 24, and for an undetermined length on the rest of the sheet



The suggestion of four columns per sheet is hypothetical, though informed by the evidence, and should be considered only a tentative suggestion. (41) While the assumption of four-column sheets (on average) affects the averages of column width (11.5 cm) and letters per line (43) used to calculate the number of columns and scroll length, it does so only very minimally, having little impact on the overall reconstruction. As mentioned above, reconstructions that do not consider this factor would result in slightly smaller averages of closer to 11 cm wide columns and 42 letters per line. Over the length of the book of Daniel, this difference would be unlikely to impact the total number of columns in the scroll. In any case, such small differences should be considered to fall well within an expected range of error for the estimates of column size, number of columns in the scroll, and scroll length.

Factoring in intercolumnar margins, but not blank columns or sheets at the ends of the scroll, results in a scroll of approximately 3.1 m in length. Using the lower averages just mentioned would instead give us a scroll around 3.0 m long. As points of comparison, this is slightly longer than the reconstructed 6QCant (27 columns; 2.90 m long), and a bit shorter than 4QInstr<sup>d</sup> (25–27 columns; 3.2–3.5 m long). (42)

#### IV. PLACING THE REST OF THE FRAGMENTS

##### Fragments 3–7 (col. VIII)

Having determined the placements of frgs. 1–2 and the approximate size of columns in 4QDan<sup>d</sup>, we may proceed to assess the remaining fragments. Pfann placed frg. 3 (Dan 4:5–9) at the bottom of the same column as frg. 2 ii, which he called Col. VI (my col. VII). (43) Based on the facts that this column averaged 38 letters per line, according to frg. 2 ii, and very likely had 25 lines, Pfann's placement cannot be correct. The fragment should instead be placed towards the top of my col. VIII (Pfann's Col. VII). Column VIII must have started around Dan 4:1, assuming 20 additional lines of approximately 38 letters following frag 2 ii 5. Reconstructing the first word of the line represented by frg. 3 1 as *מהודעין* (Dan 4:4), assuming a 45 letter-per-line average

(41) Sheets of skin used in the manuscripts at Qumran ranged from those containing only 1 column to those containing 7 columns, with the maximum dimensions being determined by the size of the small quadrupeds (typically sheep or goats) providing the hides. The sheets used for the scrolls at Qumran average 3–4 columns, with sheets of a significantly higher or lower number than this being relatively rare. See Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 80.

(42) See Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 76–78.

(43) Pfann, "4QDaniel<sup>d</sup>," 63–65.

(calculated from successive lines of frg. 3), and placing frg. 3 at the left edge of the column, there would be approximately 180–190 letters to the beginning of this column's first line (183 letters to the beginning of Dan 4:1). (44) This strongly suggests four lines in the column preceding the first extant line of frg. 3, so that 3 1 is line 5 in col. VIII. I accept the reconstruction of Ulrich for the remainder of the column in its broad strokes, which would mean that two lines follow frg. 7 3 (Dan 4:16) in a 25 line column. Consequently, we can estimate that col. VIII ended near the beginning of Dan 4:18 (perhaps with the word שפיר, based on average letter counts per line), and that col. IX began with the remainder of that verse.

### Fragments 10–12 and how the scroll was rolled

Ulrich could not place frgs. 10–12 with confidence, and any suggestion about their positions must remain tentative, due to the very little readable text preserved on them. The best hope of making progress is with frg. 12, which has the bottom portions of three, successive words preserved on its first line. Ulrich read 12 1 as ] אֱלֹהֶ֑א דִּי בֵיתָּא [ , which he says “may preserve Dan 5:3, but the transcription is uncertain and the identification problematic.” (45) This would be a unique formulation of the MT's דִּי בֵית אֱלֹהֶ֑א, a phrase that does, admittedly, reflect some confusion in the versions. The bigger problem with this transcription, however, is epigraphic. The first letter of the first word in 12 1 can be read quite confidently as a *gimel*, based on the fully-preserved bottom of the letter, with its joint between the two strokes. (46) The somewhat similar joint of *aleph* typically has a more upright, vertically-oriented left leg than *gimel*, and the letter here in 12 1 matches best the other occurrences of *gimel* in 4QDan<sup>d</sup> (see, e.g., עֲבַר נִגוּ in 2 ii 1). The following letter is not a *lamed*, but instead we find the lower parts of two vertical downstrokes, representing one or, in my opinion, two letters.

(44) The 45 letter per line average is based on Ulrich's reconstructed 19 lines for the column. I follow Ulrich's placement of frg. 3 at the left edge of the column, which is plausible, but not certain. Pfann (“4QDaniel<sup>d</sup>,” 65) placed the fragment approximately 15 letters further to the right in the column. The fragment could indeed be placed further right in the column, as in Pfann's reconstruction, but this would have a minimal impact on its vertical position in the column. Ulrich (DJD 16: 282–83) reconstructed frg. 3 as being part of the same column as frgs. 4–7, clearly not following Pfann in his reconstruction. Ulrich does not give a clear rationale for placing frg. 3–7 in the same column, but it may be based, at least in part, on the similar letter counts per line across the fragments.

(45) DJD 16: 285. None of these fragments were dealt with by Pfann.

(46) See the high-quality image B-367543 in the Leon Levy Digital Library, though it is, like most available images of this fragment, presented upside-down.

The spacing after the first stroke suggests that it is a *yod* or *vav*, while the larger space following the next vertical stroke is indicative of *resh* or *dalet*. (47) The last letter of the word can be read quite confidently, with Ulrich, as an *aleph*. The two letters of the next word are, in my opinion, certainly the word דַּי, as suggested by Ulrich. The first letter of the final word is more likely to be *kaph*, *nun*, or perhaps *mem*, than Ulrich's *bet*, based on the rounded transition between the letter's vertical stroke and its horizontal base. (48) When considered together, these epigraphic observations led me to a new reading of this line: גִּירָא דַּי כּוּתָּל ] ○ [ "plaster of the wa[ll..." in Dan 5:5. The reading fits well the epigraphic remains, though it does assume a different vocalization of the noun כּוּתָּל "wall" than in the MT, which has כְּתֵל. Other Aramaic texts at Qumran show clearly that this noun was regularly spelled כּוּתָּל during the periods in which the scrolls were copied, and so that spelling being used here, in 4QDan<sup>d</sup>, would not be at all surprising. (49) The spelling in 4QDan<sup>d</sup>, if correct, simply follows the expected vocalization convention found in a number of contemporaneous Qumran scrolls.

There is a secondary line of physical evidence that supports this reading. The shape and damage pattern of frg. 12 (as well as frgs. 10 and 11) fit well with the left-most extension of frg. 7, the first line of which reads ] פִּנְשִׁירָא אֲמַר כִּלְקַבְּלָ דַּי from Dan 4:15. Let us hypothesize, for a moment, that frg. 12 was located in front of or behind this similarly-shaped extension of frg. 7 in the original, rolled scroll, one or more revolutions towards the scroll's interior or exterior. Guided by the average column height and width discussed above, we can now calculate which portions of Daniel should occur at around the same vertical position as frg. 7 in the succeeding and preceding few columns of text, leaving a small range of variation for the inevitable deviance of the real scroll from the more mechanical reconstruction. For col. IX, this would be Dan 4:27–29, and for col. X it would be Dan 5:4–7. That is to say, the reading proposed above, from Dan 5:5, fits perfectly with where we should have expected it to occur, two columns later in the scroll. Combining these two points of evidence—the similar size and shape of the fragments, and the convergence between the reading of frg. 12 1 and its expected position relative to frg. 7 in the hypothesis above—I propose that frg. 12 did indeed overlap the left-most extension of frg. 7 (i.e., the ends of 7 1–2) in the rolled scroll.

(47) There is not room for the lower part of a lamed between the gimel and the following vertical downstroke.

(48) *Bet* typically has a more angular transition/joint at this point.

(49) The longer spelling is found in a number of different copies, penned by different scribes, including 1Q32, 2Q24, 4Q214b, 5Q15, and 11Q18.

If this is correct, can we ascertain how many revolutions of the scroll from frg. 7 we should place frg. 12? Recall that the circumference of one revolution of the scroll was calculated at around 10.5 cm from the matching damage points of frgs. 1 and 2, with a diameter at this revolution of approximately 3.4 cm. We should expect calculations of circumference and diameter either to diminish slightly or to increase slightly with each revolution of the scroll, depending on whether revolutions are moving toward the scroll's center or toward its outside.

Based on an average column width of 11–12 cm for cols. VIII–X, and adding 1.5 cm for each intercolumnar margin, we could expect the left edge of frg. 12 to fall at about 25–27 cm further along in the unrolled scroll than the left edge of frg. 7. (50) This distance would call for a circumference of 25–27 cm at one revolution (~8.5–9 cm diameter), 12.5–13.5 cm at two revolutions (~4–4.5 cm diameter; assuming equal revolution distances), and 8.5–9 cm at three revolutions (~3 cm diameter; assuming equal revolution distances). The one revolution model is clearly incoherent with the circumference and diameter measurements discussed above for frgs. 1 and 2, and would require an unreasonably large, loosely-rolled scroll. The two-revolution model also requires a very loosely-rolled scroll, and does not fit well with the evidence of frgs. 1 and 2. However, the three-revolution model can be coordinated very nicely with the evidence from frgs. 1–2, resulting in a model that allows us to surmise both the direction in which the scroll was rolled, and the tightness with which it was rolled. The following chart coordinates all of the fragment measurements suggested thus far, incorporating frgs. 10–11, to be discussed further below.

Revolution	Circumference (cm)	Diameter (cm)	Column	Location on scroll
1 (outermost)	~10.3	~3.36	VI	A few cm left of frg. 1
2	~9.9	~3.28	VII	A few cm left of frg. 2
3	~9.5	~3.2	VIII	Left edge of frg. 7
4	~9.1	~3.12	IX	Left edge of frg. 10?
5	~8.8	~3.04	IX	Left edge of frg. 11?
6 (innermost)	–	–	X	Left edge of frg. 12

(50) The calculation requires two intervening intercolumnar margins, and the widths of two full columns. The full calculation using the smaller column width measurement is  $11+1.5+11+1.5=25$ , while the larger is  $12+1.5+12+1.5=27$ .

We can assume a fixed variable of increase or decrease in circumference per revolution, depending on which way one is scrolling, but a fixed rate of increase or decrease in diameter, equating to the thickness of one layer of leather (plus any empty space left between revolutions, depending upon how tightly or loosely the scroll was rolled). According to the model proposed above, the difference in diameter per revolution for 4QDan<sup>d</sup> is a constant of approximately 0.8 mm, which accords well with Pfann's observation that the thickness of the leather varies between 0.48 and 0.65 mm. (51) Setting the fixed variable for circumference at  $\pm 1.04\%$  per revolution allows us to coordinate the evidence of all the fragments discussed above. (52) The model posits  $\sim 10.5$  cm for the revolution from the corresponding points of frgs. 1 and 2, and  $\sim 27.4$  cm of distance between the left edge of frg. 7 and the corresponding left edge of frg. 12. Working with the column and margin averages laid out above, the model predicts between 6 and 7 additional revolutions to reach the outside of the scroll measuring from the left side of frg. 1, resulting in an additional  $\sim 70$  cm of scroll and a total scroll diameter of  $\sim 3.84$  cm (just over 1.5 in). (53) The remaining interior revolutions of the scroll, moving towards its center, would require more than 30 revolutions. 32 revolutions would bring the diameter down to  $\sim 0.5$  cm, leaving an empty space of approximately that diameter at the scroll's core. In sum, the model proposed above allows for a small empty space at the scroll's center, and would suggest a rolled scroll with an outer diameter of almost 4 cm.

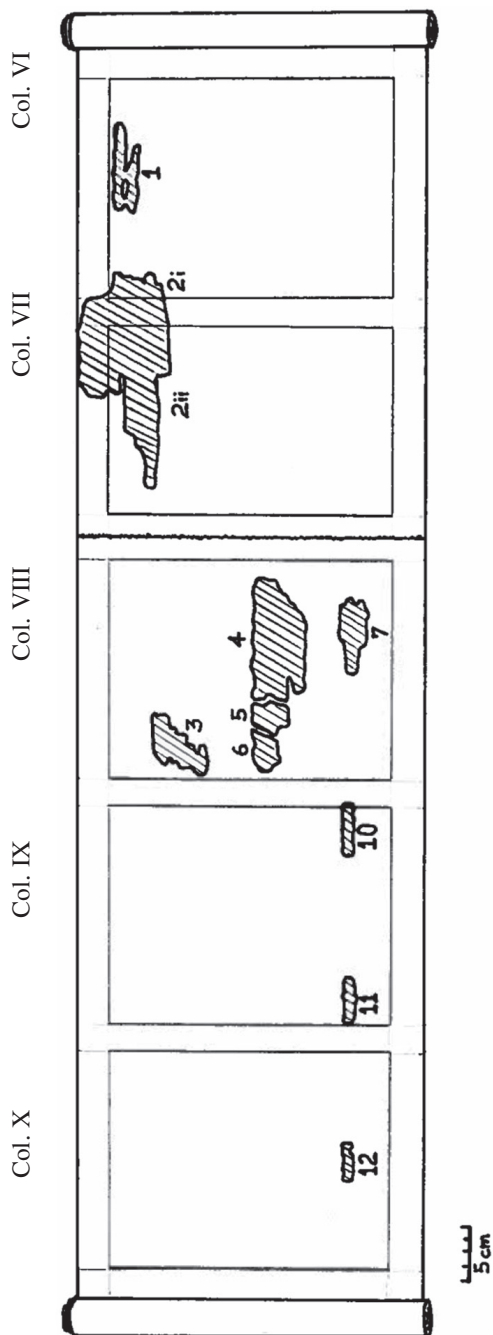
Using this model, we would expect there to have been two intervening fragments of similar size and shape to frg. 12, representing the two intervening revolutions of the scroll between frg. 7 and frg. 12. Reckoning by their shape alone, it is possible that these are Ulrich's frgs. 10–11. However, it is now impossible to be certain on this score, since we cannot tell whether these fragments contained verses from Daniel expected to occur at the same vertical area of col. IX as frg. 7 (col. VIII) and frg. 12 (col. X), i.e., Dan 4:27–29. For the purposes of the reconstruction I have placed frg. 10 one revolution from frg. 7 towards the interior of the scroll, and frg. 11 at two revolutions from frg. 7. However, these placements are quite speculative. I have attempted to represent visually the situation presented above in Illustration 3.

(51) Pfann, "4QDaniel<sup>d</sup>," 38. This would imply an extra  $\sim 0.3$  mm of empty space per revolution, making for a tightly rolled scroll.

(52) I arrived at this fixed variable inductively, based on the evidence of the extant fragments, but it corresponds to Stegemann's calculation of  $2\pi r$  (see Stegemann, "Methods," 194–95).

(53) This does not account for extra blank columns, or a blank sheet, at the beginning of the scroll, which would result in slightly larger measurements.

*Illustration 3: The placement of fragments in columns VI–X*



## Fragments 8–9

These fragments clearly contain parts of Dan 7, and I see no reason to question the main lines of Ulrich's reconstruction. The critical point that I wish to make is that they provide further support for the reconstruction of 4QDan<sup>d</sup> proposed in this essay. Ulrich designated the last line of frg. 9, which contains part of Dan 7:23, as the last line of a column based on what is very likely to be a bottom margin below 9.5 (the last line of frgs. 8–9). (54) There are approximately 7,250 letters from Dan 4:18 at the last line of col. VIII (i.e., two lines after frg. 7) to the middle of Dan 7:23. Dividing by the average of 43 letters per line, we arrive at a total line count of 169 lines, or nearly 7 full columns of text, between these two verses. If the main lines of the reconstruction proposed in this article are correct, we should expect the bottom of frg. 9 (=Dan 7:23) to fall at or near the bottom of col. XV, which it does. The additional 6 lines of text needed to reach the bottom of the column (i.e., 175 lines from Dan 4:18) may be attributed to the actual average of letters per line across cols. IX–XV having been slightly less than my projected 43 (the adjusted average is 41.5 letters per line), larger *vacats* having been left between major transitions such as our chapter divisions (there are three such divisions in col. IX–XV), or some combination of these two factors. Whatever the reason, frg. 9 occurring at the bottom of a column is yet another piece of evidence supporting the general lines of my reconstruction.

## V. CONCLUSION: 4QDAN<sup>D</sup> IN VIEW OF THE OTHER DANIEL MANUSCRIPTS AND THE QUMRAN CORPUS

I have proposed that 4QDan<sup>d</sup> can be reconstructed with a reasonable degree of confidence, starting from frgs. 1–2 (cols. VI–VII) and progressing to frgs. 3–7 (col. VIII), frgs. 10–12 (cols. IX–X), and, finally, frgs. 8–9 (col. XV). The combined evidence of these fragments fits well with a model that posits 24 columns around 11.5 cm wide, with 25 lines of approximately 43 letters per line. I consider the original scroll to have been around 19 cm high and just over 3 m long, rolled tightly when stored with a  $\pm 1.04\%$  fixed variable of difference in circumference per revolution, and a constant of  $\pm 0.8$  mm difference in diameter per revolution. Of course, these number are estimated

(54) On the calculation of the last line of col. VIII, see above. It follows shortly after frg. 7, and for purposes of counting I assume the last word of the column to be שפיר in Dan 4:18. There is no compelling textual reason to expect a *vacat* as large as that found in the empty space under 9.5 at this point Dan 7:23.

averages, and are sure to have varied somewhat in the original, hand-made scroll.

How does this compare with the other Daniel manuscripts discovered in the Qumran caves? The following chart summarizes some of the relevant measurements of the Daniel scrolls. (55)

Scroll	Approx. col. size ("writing block")	Lines /col.	Avg. letters /line	Scroll height	Scroll length	# of columns
1QDan <sup>a</sup>	15 cm h. × 10–11 cm w.	20	~35	~19 cm	—	—
1QDan <sup>b</sup>	>13 cm h. × 15 cm w.	>18	~52	>16 cm	—	—
4QDan <sup>a</sup>	12 cm h. × 8.5–10.5 cm w.	18	~40–70	14.8 cm	~3 m	~28
4QDan <sup>b</sup>	16.5 cm h. × 11.5–13.5 cm w.	22	~35–45	21 cm	~4–4.5 m	~31–32
4QDan <sup>c</sup>	14.4 cm h. × 10.5–15 cm w.	16–17	~34–53	~16.5 cm	—	—
4QDan <sup>d</sup>	15.5 cm h. × 10.5–12.5 cm w.	25	~35–45	~19 cm	~3 m	~24
4QDan <sup>e</sup>	6.1 cm h. × 10.5 cm w.	9	~25–30	—	—	—
6QDan	~13 cm h. × ~12–13 cm w.	18	~39	~17 cm	—	—

It is immediately apparent that 4QDan<sup>e</sup> and 6QDan stand apart from the rest of the copies for their lower quality. This can be seen in the materials used (6QDan is a papyrus copy), column size, and the lower levels of skill and care with which they were laid out and written. (56) If the estimated paleographic dates are correct, the two manuscripts were written well over a century apart, 4QDan<sup>e</sup> around the beginning of the first century BCE, and 6QDan in the middle of the first century CE. (57)

The remaining manuscripts are of markedly higher quality, including 4QDan<sup>d</sup>. In light of the other Cave 1 and Cave 4 copies (i.e., excluding 4QDan<sup>e</sup> and 6QDan), the reconstructed 4QDan<sup>d</sup> is typical in its dimensions. It has the largest number of lines per column of the Daniel copies, but the lines are more tightly spaced than in several of the others, leading to similarly-sized columns for 1QDan<sup>a</sup> and 4QDan<sup>b-d</sup>. In fact, the height to width ratios of the columns in 1QDan<sup>a</sup> and 4QDan<sup>a-d</sup> is remarkably similar, with a height being approximately 1.25–1.5 times

(55) Further work could be done on the reconstruction of several of the other Qumran copies of Daniel, though this task falls outside the purview of the present article.

(56) On the distinction between leather and papyrus, and the possible implications of using one material versus the other, see Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 48–53.

(57) DJD 16: 287; DJD 3: 114.



greater than the width. The number of columns and total length of 4QDan<sup>a</sup> and 4QDan<sup>d</sup> are also comparable, both scrolls also being paleographically dated to the mid to late first century BCE. In my opinion these correspondences serve as yet another confirmation of the proposed reconstruction for 4QDan<sup>d</sup>.

Daniel MACHIELA

# BETWEEN METHOD AND INTERPRETATION: REMARKS ON THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF QUMRAN IN LIGHT OF TWO RECENT FINAL REPORTS

## *Abstract*

For the past seventy years, numerous conflicting interpretations have been proposed regarding the site of Qumran and the identity of its inhabitants, resulting in a highly complex scholarly landscape. Jean-Baptiste Humbert and Alain Chambon's recent publication of Roland de Vaux's 1951–56 excavations, and Yitzhak Magen and Yuval Peleg's report on excavations they conducted between 1994 and 2004 present important new data to the scholarly community, but they also contribute further to the existing confusion. This article evaluates these reports and highlights methodological and epistemic shortcomings that undermine their usefulness. The analysis focuses on the question of the site's stratigraphy and chronology—with a particular emphasis on the development of the water system, the dating of the pottery deposit in L89, and the history of pottery production at Qumran—and on various matters of interpretation, including Humbert and Chambon's and Magen and Peleg's reconstructions of Qumran as a Hasmonean villa or military outpost and their interpretation of particular site features, such as the kiln in L64 and the stepped pools. These examples serve as a showcase for the larger problems that permeate both volumes and should help scholars use the reports judiciously. The article demonstrates that the main problem with both works is ultimately one of method.

*Keywords:* archaeology of Qumran—Qumran stratigraphy—Qumran chronology—Qumran water system—Qumran stepped pools—Qumran Locus 89—Qumran kilns—pottery production at Qumran—archaeological reports —archaeological methodology

FOR the past seventy years, numerous conflicting interpretations have been proposed regarding the site of Qumran and the identity of its inhabitants. (1) To scholars unfamiliar with the field or the nature of archaeology, this may cause a great deal of uncertainty on how to approach the convoluted scholarly landscape and filter interpretations that work from those that do not. Unfortunately, the recent publication of two final reports only adds to the confusion. One is Jean-Baptiste Humbert and Alain Chambon's publication of Roland de Vaux's 1951–56 excavations, (2) and the other is Yitzhak Magen and Yuval Peleg's report on excavations they conducted between 1994 and 2004. (3) Although the reports differ substantially from each other in terms of the presentation and interpretation of the archaeological material, both reflect critical shortcomings in archaeological methodology and the presentation of data to the scholarly community. (4) In this article, we consider the methodological problems underlying these reports, hoping our evaluation will be valuable to scholars navigating the complex debates surrounding the archaeology of Qumran. (5) Because

(1) For a recent overview of scholarship, see Dennis Mizzi, "Qumran at Seventy: Reflections on Seventy Years of Scholarship on the Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Strata: BAIAS* 35 (2017): 9–45; idem, "Archaeology of Qumran," in *The T & T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. George Brooke and Charlotte Hempel (London: T&T Clark, 2018), 17–36.

(2) Jean-Baptiste Humbert, Alain Chambon, and Jolanta Młynarczyk, *Khirbet Qumrân et Aïn Feshkha: Fouilles du P. Roland de Vaux: IIIA: L'archéologie de Qumrân*, NTOA.SA 5a (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016). This is the first of two projected volumes on the site's stratigraphy, focusing on the loci or areas surrounding the main and western buildings. The bulk of the work in the volume is authored by Humbert, with the technical assistance of Chambon. This is followed by a final report on the ceramic oil lamps by Młynarczyk. As Młynarczyk's contribution is limited to the oil lamps, in this article we refer only to Humbert and Chambon as the authors of the volume.

(3) Yitzhak Magen and Yuval Peleg, *Back to Qumran: Final Report (1993–2004)*, JSP 18 (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority; Civil Administration of Judea and Samaria, 2018).

(4) Readers should be aware that the two reports introduce wall numbers, which were not used by de Vaux. However, they employ completely different systems for the purpose, which means that the same walls are designated differently in the respective reports, something that will surely add to further confusion in the scholarly conversation. For this reason, we advocate that neither of the wall-numbering systems is adopted as a standard reference in the future. For the use of numbering systems in the excavation process, see Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, SDSSRL (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2002), 6–7.

(5) Some of the methodological problems discussed below have already been highlighted in published reviews of Humbert and Chambon's volume. See, for example, Jodi Magness, Review of *Khirbet Qumrân et Aïn Feshkha: Fouilles du P. Roland de Vaux: IIIA: L'archéologie de Qumrân* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht), by Jean-Baptiste Humbert, Alain Chambon, and Jolanta Młynarczyk, *DSD* 25 (2018): 107–16; Dennis Mizzi, Review of *Khirbet Qumrân et Aïn Feshkha: Fouilles du*

the intended audience is Qumran specialists who are not archaeologists, the main discussion is preceded by a brief overview of the archaeological process.

## 1. On the Nature of Archaeology

Archaeology is an evidence-based scientific discipline that relies heavily on empirical data. Although archaeology is a science, it is not exact because it is destructive and involves human behavior, past and present. The archaeological process destroys the very evidence it brings to light, and thus, unlike a hard or exact science, an excavation is an experiment that cannot be replicated. For this reason, the precise and complete recording of an excavation is of critical importance, and the publication of that information constitutes the only way to make it accessible to others. The ultimate goal of a final report is to enable the reader to reconstruct, in three-dimensions, remains which no longer exist. Any evidence that is not recorded or published is lost forever.

Even though every step in the archaeological process involves varying degrees of interpretation, a good report aims to present the raw data as completely and objectively as possible. For this reason, the first chapters in a report usually describe the stratigraphy and architecture, followed by specialist chapters on categories of artifacts and related analyses, such as pottery, glass, metal artifacts, stone objects, coins, inscriptions, and faunal remains. Typically, the excavator's interpretation is presented independently of the raw data, either at the end of the chapter on stratigraphy and architecture or in a separate chapter at the back of the volume.

Importantly, the publication of a final excavation report does not mark the end of the interpretive process. By publishing their data, excavators allow others to replicate the archaeological experiment, so to speak—that is, to test their proposed stratigraphic, chronological, and interpretive frameworks. This is as close as archaeology can get to deductive testing of hypotheses and to mitigating its inherent nature as a destructive science. Accordingly, a report should always be read with a critical mindset, and the excavator's interpretations or conclusions should not be assumed to be correct or accepted unquestioningly. (6)

*P. Roland de Vaux: IIIA: L'archéologie de Qumrân* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht), by Jean-Baptiste Humbert, Alain Chambon, and Jolanta Młynarczyk, *Strata: BAIAS* 35 (2017), 193–97.

(6) In a recent article addressing the debate on synagogue chronology, Chad Spigel, “Debating Ancient Synagogue Dating: The Implications of Deteriorating Data,” *BASOR* 376 (2016): 83–100, claims that the final reports published by the Meiron Excavation Project are incomplete and unreliable, and that their conclusions cannot be

Interpretations must be supported by a preponderance of data, rather than select pieces of evidence which fit a preconceived notion.

It is in this spirit that we offer the following appraisal. Humbert and Chambon's and Magen and Peleg's reports present the scholarly community with important new data, and thus are indispensable tools for the study of Qumran. But the reports also contain significant errors and flawed conclusions, some of which we highlight here. The aim is not to advance our own interpretations over Humbert and Chambon's and Magen and Peleg's. In fact, the critiques we offer are predicated not on our interpretation of the site but on a critical reading of the archaeological data. The critiques are valid irrespective of any one interpretation, and are intended to further scholarly evaluation of Qumran archaeology. We begin by considering the site's stratigraphy and chronology, and then turn to matters of interpretation.

## 2. Stratigraphy and Chronology

Seventy years after de Vaux's excavations, the chronology of Qumran remains highly debated, as the outcome has serious implications for the reconstruction of the site's history and its overall interpretation. Here we do not weigh the merits of the various interpretive models, (7) but instead limit our assessment to the chronologies proposed by Humbert and Chambon and Magen and Peleg, who present radically different views. (8)

Humbert and Chambon identify the original settlement as an aristocratic Hasmonean villa (Niveau 2A), which occupied the core of the

questioned as only the excavators had access to notes and discussions in the field, unpublished documentation, personal correspondence, etc. Spigel's position is antithetical to the archaeological endeavor, as it means that the excavators' interpretations can never be challenged by others based on the information published in a final report. Similarly, Rachel Hachlili, *Ancient Synagogues—Archaeology and Art: New Discoveries and Current Research*, HdO 105 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 586, concludes: "I prefer to rely on the work of the excavators who were present at the site, constantly checked the development of the finds and evidence, and published the results in such a way that other scholars are able to dig into their reports and interpret the finds in a new way." On the one hand, Hachlili admits to preferring to rely on the excavators' conclusions, and yet acknowledges that the publication of the data should provide a basis for re-evaluation and re-interpretation by others.

(7) For an overview and discussion, see Dennis Mizzi, "Qumran Period I Reconsidered: An Evaluation of Several Competing Theories," *DSD* 22 (2015): 1–42, esp. 3–30, Fig. 9.

(8) Figures 1–3 depict the architectural layout of Qumran during de Vaux's Periods Ia, Ib, and II. Figures 1 and 2 also show the loci (and other terminology) mentioned in Sections 2 and 3, and thus should serve as reference points for the following discussion.

main building (Figure 4). The villa was established during the reign of Alexander Jannaeus and destroyed either in 63 BCE (Pompey's conquest), or 56 BCE (under Gabinius), or 40 BCE (Parthian invasion). The site was occupied briefly by squatters or refugees (Niveau 2B), and around 31 BCE was settled by a sectarian group, apparently the Essenes, who used it as a center of worship and pilgrimage for other Essenes living at settlements around the Dead Sea until the Roman destruction in 68 CE (Niveau 3). According to Humbert and Chambon, it was during the early part of Niveau 3, ca. 30–10 BCE, that the aqueduct and pools, together with the rest of the peripheral buildings, were built. (9)

In contrast, Magen and Peleg distinguish only two occupation phases for the same period. They date the establishment of the settlement to the early first century BCE (Phase A), and argue that, during the first century, Qumran served as a Hasmonean military outpost (Figure 5). At the turn of the century, the site's nature changed dramatically when it was transformed into a pottery production center (Phase B). It was at this time that the aqueduct and pools were built, the latter's purpose being to collect potters' clay. The site continued to function as a potters' workshop until its destruction in 68 CE. (10)

Rather than moving from data to interpretation, Humbert and Chambon and Magen and Peleg proceed in the reverse order. Both their chronologies disregard the site's stratigraphy, and their corresponding

(9) The chronology reiterates Humbert's earlier views on the subject, for which see Jean-Baptiste Humbert, "L'espace sacré à Qumrân: propositions pour l'archéologie," *RB* 101.2 (1994): 161–214; idem, "Reconsideration of the Archaeological Interpretation of Qumran," in *Khirbet Qumrân et 'Ain Feshkha II: Études d'anthropologie, de physique et de chimie (Studies of Anthropology, Physics and Chemistry)*, ed. Jean-Baptiste Humbert and Jan Gunneweg, NTOA.SA 3 (Fribourg/Göttingen: Academic Press Fribourg/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 419–40; idem, "Arguments en faveur d'une résidence pré-essénienne," in Humbert and Gunneweg, *Khirbet Qumrân et 'Ain Feshkha II*, 467–82. See also Alain Chambon, "Catalogue des blocs d'architecture localisés ou erratiques," in Humbert and Gunneweg, *Khirbet Qumrân et 'Ain Feshkha II*, 445–65, esp. Fig. 27.

(10) The basic contours of Magen and Peleg's reconstruction in *Back to Qumran* repeat their previous publications, for which see idem, "Back to Qumran: Ten Years of Excavation and Research, 1993–2004," in *Qumran: The Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates. Proceedings of a Conference Held at Brown University, November 17–19, 2002*, ed. Katharina Galor, Jean-Baptiste Humbert, and Jürgen Zangenberg, *STDJ* 57 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 55–113; idem, *The Qumran Excavations, 1993–2004: Preliminary Report*, JSP 6 (Jerusalem: Staff Officer of Archaeology—Civil Administration of Judea and Samaria; Israel Antiquities Authority, 2007). However, in *Back to Qumran* they present a slightly altered chronology. Previously, Magen and Peleg had suggested that Qumran was used as a military outpost only during the early first century BCE (Phases B and C), until ca. 63 BCE, and that it functioned as a pottery production center from around this time until 68 CE (Phases D and E).

reconstructions of the settlement's history and the development of its architectural layout are based on unsubstantiated inferences and *a priori* notions about the nature of the site. Equally problematic is the fact that the chronologies operate independently of the rest of the information presented in the reports—indeed there is barely any reference to the archaeological material published in the same volumes to buttress any of the claims made—to the extent that, in some instances, the data are selectively presented or are misrepresented. This calls into question the reliability of the published data, thereby undermining the purpose of these volumes as final excavation reports.

One example that illustrates these problems is Humbert and Chambon's and Magen and Peleg's dating of the pottery deposit in L89 to the mid-first century CE or later. (11) L89 comprises the southernmost part of the annex to L77 (Figure 6). (12) The annex is of critical chronological importance, for it provides a loose, but important, *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the aqueduct and the expansion of the site—the latter because the construction of the aqueduct implies the existence of a fully-fledged settlement, more or less corresponding to de Vaux's Period Ib/II. (13) Because the aqueduct channel abuts L77 on the east, it must be considered contemporary with or later than L77. However, the relationship can be defined more precisely. Since the aqueduct cuts the thick wall at the southern end of L66 and the east wall of L77 is bonded with this same wall, the two must have been built

(11) See Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân et Aïn Feshkha IIIA*, 327–42; Magen and Peleg, *Back to Qumran*, 47, 108.

(12) Originally, de Vaux designated the entire annex as L86. Upon the discovery of two partition walls, which split the annex into three distinct spaces, he limited L86 to the northernmost end of the annex and labelled the central part as L87 and the southernmost end as L89. Technically, the pottery deposit belongs to L86, since L89 designates the southern part of the annex *after* it was sealed off by one of the two aforementioned walls (which was built after the destruction of the pottery vessels). However, in his field notes, de Vaux conceives of this space in a tripartite way, and he registered the vessels under L89. See Roland de Vaux, "Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân: rapport préliminaire sur les 3<sup>e</sup>, 4<sup>e</sup>, et 5<sup>e</sup> campagnes," *RB* 63 (1956): 533–77 (554–55, Fig. 2). For the sake of clarity, we maintain this tripartite division of the annex and use L86, L87, and L89 to refer respectively to the northern, central, and southern parts of the annex.

(13) The importance of the water system for understanding the expansion of the settlement has been pointed out by others or is implied in their respective reconstructions of the site's architectural development. See, especially, David Stacey, "Some Archaeological Observations on the Aqueducts of Qumran," *DSD* 14 (2007): 222–43; Jodi Magness, "A Response to D. Stacey, 'Some Archaeological Observations on the Aqueducts of Qumran,'" and "A Final Response to Stacey," *DSD* 14 (2007): 244–53, 255–56. Also cf. Magen and Peleg, *Back to Qumran*, 72, who state that "[t]he nature of the site can be defined by the water system." Indeed, Roland de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, rev. ed. (London: Oxford Univ. Press for the British Academy, 1973), 10, describes the water system as "the most striking characteristic of Khirbet Qumran."

together. Otherwise, it would have been impossible to cut through the thick wall without dismantling it, endangering the stability of the northeast corner of L77 in the process. Therefore, L77 and the aqueduct must have been built together at a point after the south wall of the original settlement—which can be equated broadly with the layout (but not the chronology) of de Vaux’s Period Ia (14)—experienced a destruction event and collapsed. (15) These two features are thus intricately interlinked. Due to a lack of definitive evidence, it is not possible to date the construction of L77, so the next best thing is to date its annex (L86/87/89).

The connection between the annex and L77 is interrupted by the Period III aqueduct, which cuts through the northernmost segment of L86/87/89. However, photographs from the excavation suggest that the annex was built against the south wall of L77 (Figure 7), (16) indicating that it belongs to a later technical or chronological stage. At some point, the annex suffered a destruction event, as a result of which a rich stockpile of pottery stored there was damaged and left in situ. The vessels give us an opportunity to date the locus more closely, although the date pertains to its destruction. Such a date, then, would provide us with a *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the annex and, consequently, of L77 and the aqueduct.

(14) See Mizzi, “Qumran Period I Reconsidered.”

(15) See also Stacey in David Stacey and Gregory L. Doudna, with a contribution by Gideon Avni, *Qumran Revisited: A Reassessment of the Archaeology of the Site and its Texts*, BAR.IS 2520 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2013), 39. However, Stacey assumes, without evidentiary support, that the cause of the wall’s collapse was the earthquake of 31 BCE.

(16) See Jean-Baptiste Humbert and Alain Chambon, ed., *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân et de Aïn Feshkha I: album de photographies, repertoire du fonds photographique, synthèse des notes de chantier du Père Roland de Vaux OP*, NTOA.SA 1 (Fribourg/Göttingen: Academic Press Fribourg/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), Fig. XXV, Pl. 348. Unfortunately, the photographs from de Vaux’s excavations do not provide a good view of the intersection between L86/87/89 and L77. The photograph in Pl. 348 is from 1992, and so one must take into account the various restoration works carried out at the site since the 1950s. Nonetheless, a photograph taken by Leo Boer in 1954 (Figure 7) shows a clean cut against the south side of the south wall of L77, indicating that the lateral walls of the annex were built against the south wall of L77 and not bonded with it. For the history behind the discovery of this photograph, see Bart Wagemakers and Joan E. Taylor, “New Photographs of the Qumran Excavations from 1954 and Interpretations of L.77 and L.86,” *PEQ* 143 (2011): 134–56 (esp. 143–44). Boer was a student at the École Biblique and worked at Qumran for about a week, during de Vaux’s third excavation season. He passed on two films containing photographs he had taken in March 1954 to Bart Wagemakers, who developed them with the aid of a professional photographer. We thank Bart Wagemakers for providing us with a high-quality version of the above photograph and the Leo Boer Archive (<https://npaph.com/archives/leo-boer-archive/>) for permission to reproduce it here.



Neither Humbert and Chambon's nor Magen and Peleg's dating is substantiated by the evidence they publish. Magen and Peleg simply state that "the vessels ... found in this room [L89] date to the first century CE," (17) without providing any corroborating support. Moreover, their Phase A plan shows L77 and L86/87/89—which they consider to be secondary additions dating to the Herodian period—but not the aqueduct, and thus their reconstruction neglects crucial stratigraphic data. On the other hand, Humbert and Chambon date the pottery deposit based on a series of coins minted in the time of Herod Agrippa I and the emperor Nero which were discovered in L86 and L87. However, since none of these coins was found in the same context as the pottery in L89, their use for dating its destruction is problematic.

The coins from L86 (KhQ1424–1425, 1427–1430, 1458–1460, 1480), which were registered between 16–18/03/1954 and 22/03/1954, (18) must have come from the northern part of L86/87/89. As noted above (footnote 12), while de Vaux designated the entire annex as L86 at first, he switched to three different loci numbers after he uncovered two walls dividing the locus into three distinct spaces, redefining L86 as the area north of the partition wall separating the northern from the central part of the annex. Importantly, de Vaux used this tripartite framework to register the collected finds, thus ensuring that each artefact was allocated to the space it had come from, even if found on the first day of excavation (i.e., 16/03/1954), before L86 was split into three loci. Therefore, all coins attributed to L86 must have been found north of the partition wall separating L86 and L87, and their likely stratigraphic context (based on the date of registration) indicates that they were lost some time after the construction of this wall, (19) which itself postdates the destruction of the pottery in L89. Accordingly, these coins have no bearing on the latter's dating.

In connection with L87, de Vaux recorded only one coin of Herod Agrippa I (KhQ1436), which seems to have come from the upper level of the locus, and thus was probably registered on 16/03/1954 or 17/03/1954. (20) Therefore, like the coins from L86, KhQ1436 must

(17) Magen and Peleg, *Back to Qumran*, 47.

(18) See the table in Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân et Aïn Feshkha IIIA*, 342. Unfortunately, Humbert and Chambon do not specify which date of registration applies to which coin, so it is impossible to determine which coins were registered on which day.

(19) This view is accepted by Humbert and Chambon as well, who link the coins with their floor 882. See the details and section drawing in Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân et Aïn Feshkha IIIA*, 342. Readers should note that Humbert and Chambon do not follow de Vaux in his redefinition of L86, and instead create a new locus (L185) for the purpose.

(20) See the table and reconstruction of the stratigraphy in Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân et Aïn Feshkha IIIA*, 342. The coin's context is described as "niveau supérieur," although the coin is placed incorrectly in the lower level of L87.

have been dropped after the construction of the partition wall between L87 and L89, which was in turn built after the destruction of the dishes stored there. (21) Similarly, then, the coin from L87 has no chronological relevance, which leaves us with the typology of the pottery itself as the only possible indicator for the time of the deposit's destruction.

This ceramic assemblage from L89 includes 708 deep, hemispherical bowls, corresponding to Rachel Bar-Nathan's J-BL5B, which she dates from the second quarter to mid-second century BCE through the reign of Herod the Great. Hasmonean period examples have a ring base while Herodian period specimens have a ring or disk base. Bar-Nathan notes that bowls of this type are absent from first century CE contexts at Jericho. (22) The first-century CE bowls from Masada clearly represent a later development of this type, as they are smaller and narrow towards

(21) Humbert and Chambon suggest that there were two superimposed walls (their W884 and W874) between L87 and L89, but this is probably incorrect. Both the excavation photographs and plans drawn in the field show a low partition wall which seems to have closed off L89 from the rest of the annex, without however blocking access. This wall appears to have had a doorway at its westernmost end (see Humbert and Chambon, *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân et de Aïn Feshkha I*, Pls. 331, 336, 338–39; idem, *Khirbet Qumrân et Aïn Feshkha IIIA*, Fig. 137a). Other photographs show a wall built along the same line but at a higher elevation (see Humbert and Chambon, *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân et de Aïn Feshkha I*, Pls. 330, 332), and some plans of the locus illustrate a complete wall, without an entryway at its westernmost end (see Humbert and Chambon, *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân et de Aïn Feshkha I*, Fig. XXV; idem, *Khirbet Qumrân et Aïn Feshkha IIIA*, Fig. 137c, d). This suggests there may have been two superimposed walls between L87 and L89, with the upper of these walls blocking off L89 completely. In his notes, however, de Vaux speaks only of one wall separating the two loci (L87: 16/03/1954, 18/03/1954; L89: 30/03/54), which he describes as the “petit mur entre les loci 87 et 89” (L89: 30/03/1954). In his later publications, he always characterizes the partition between L87 and L89 as comprising a single wall, the purpose of which was to seal off the destroyed pottery stockpile (see de Vaux, “Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân: rapport préliminaire sur les 3<sup>e</sup>, 4<sup>e</sup>, et 5<sup>e</sup> campagnes,” 546; idem, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 11–12 [n. 1]). Importantly, de Vaux claims to have found fragments of pottery identical to the damaged pots in L89 underneath this partition wall (L89: 30/03/1954). If correct, the existence of the presumed lower wall, with its doorway into a defunct L89, would hardly make sense. Therefore, it is likely that there was only one partition wall between L87 and L89, and that the low wall with the doorway shown in the photographs does not reflect an actual stage in the architectural development of the locus. Indeed, this wall could have been left there artificially by de Vaux so as not to disturb the pottery stockpile behind it prior to its excavation. This would explain why de Vaux never mentions a low partition wall with a doorway in his notes or later publications, and why most plans fail to show it at all. The only plan that does—which is a field plan (see Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân et Aïn Feshkha IIIA*, Fig. 137a)—probably documents nothing more than de Vaux's excavation process, and thus it may have no stratigraphic significance whatsoever.

(22) See Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân et Aïn Feshkha IIIA*, Pl. 55:3–8; Rachel Bar-Nathan, *Hasmonean and Herodian Palaces at Jericho: Final Reports of the 1973–1987 Excavations. Volume III: The Pottery* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2002), 87–89.

a flat or disk base. (23) The pottery from L89 also includes approximately seventy-five deep, thin-walled cups or goblets with flaring rims and ring bases, a type that Bar-Nathan dates to the reign of Herod and is not attested at Masada. (24) In addition, there are a number of bag-shaped storage jars which date to the reign of Herod. (25) Other vessel types represented in smaller numbers similarly date to the transitional phase between the Hasmonean and Herodian periods. The pottery from L89 thus represents a homogeneous assemblage of the mid-to-late first century BCE, indicating that this is when the annex was destroyed.

Humbert and Chambon's and Magen and Peleg's claim that this assemblage dates to the first century CE ignores a large body of ceramic comparanda, presumably to fit the archaeological evidence into their preconceived interpretive framework. (26) For an archaeological report, which is supposed to keep a clear distinction between data and interpretation, this is a major shortcoming. It is striking that Magen and Peleg choose to ignore the conclusions of Irina Eisenstadt, who published the pottery from their excavation and who states that, "[o]n the basis of the finds in L86-L89, this assemblage [here talking about another group of vessels which she compares to those from L89] should be dated to the third quarter of the first century BCE." (27) Archaeologists might disagree about the circumstances that caused the destruction of the dishes in L89—earthquake or localized destruction event?—but there can be no doubt it occurred some time in the mid-to-late first century BCE. The annex itself, of course, was built earlier, and L77 and the aqueduct possibly earlier still (keeping in mind that the annex belongs to a later technical or chronological stage). How far back the

(23) See Rachel Bar-Nathan, *Masada VII: The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965, Final Reports: The Pottery of Masada* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2006), 136–37, M-BL5 (Group D).

(24) See Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân et Ain Feshkha IIIA*, Pl. 55:27–36; Bar-Nathan, *Hasmonean and Herodian Palaces at Jericho*, 99–100, J-CU1C.

(25) See Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân et Ain Feshkha IIIA*, Pls. 62–63; 64:6–10; Bar-Nathan, *Masada VII*, 42, 59; M-SJ10. A variant of this type with a different rim form continued up to the time of the First Revolt.

(26) If the destruction of the annex occurred in the mid-to-late first century BCE, the settlement must have reached a stage of development similar to de Vaux's Period Ib/II prior to that time (see above for the connection between the annex, the aqueduct, and the development of the settlement). However, a settlement that looks like de Vaux's Period Ib/II would pose serious challenges to Humbert and Chambon's and Magen and Peleg's interpretation of Qumran as a Hasmonean villa or military outpost. In addition, Humbert and Chambon's claim that the pottery in L89 was linked with the provision of vessels for sacrificial offerings, and thus the entire premise of the Essene cultic center, depends on the late dating of this material.

(27) Irina Eisenstadt, "Qumran Pottery," in Magen and Peleg, *Back to Qumran*, 179–337 (200).

date of construction goes cannot be determined, but neither the water system nor the expansion of the settlement are as late as the reports in question suggest.

In another telling example, Humbert and Chambon and Magen and Peleg ignore the existence of stepped pools L117 and L118 in the earliest phases of the settlement as they reconstruct it—despite stratigraphic evidence to the contrary. Since L117 and L118 are not among the loci published in Humbert and Chambon's volume, (28) here we focus on Magen and Peleg's argument. They assign L110 to their Phase A (i.e., the first century BCE), arguing that,

[w]e posit that it was built, using advanced methodology [*sic!*], in the Hasmonean period, having difficulty accepting that the inhabitants of Iron Age Qumran, who lived in sheds and huts, could have built such a large cistern, coated with the large quantity of waterproof plaster needed to seal it against seepage, as well as the water channel that brought water from Nahal Qumran. (29)

Pools L117 and L118 are then dated to their Phase B (i.e., the end of the first century BCE or the beginning of the first century CE), together with the rest of the water system, on the premise that the pools were meant to collect potters' clay for the workshop established there during this new phase. (30) Leaving aside the unfounded claim regarding the Iron Age occupation, which ignores the extensive remains from this period discovered by de Vaux as well as in their own excavations, (31) Magen and Peleg disregard a number of critical elements of the stratigraphy relating to L110, L117, and L118. In this part of the site, de Vaux identified three distinct phases relating to the water system: 1) the construction of the round cistern, L110; 2) the construction of L117 and L118, which were supplied by channels overlaid by the later aqueduct and which also fed L110; and 3) the construction of the aqueduct and the other pools (i.e., the main water system), which also show evidence of repairs and further sub-phases (Figure 1). Therefore, L117 and

(28) These loci, together with the rest of the western and main buildings, are expected to be published in a future volume (*IIIB*). Nonetheless, the volume under discussion (*IIIA*) assumes Humbert's chronology, as presented in previous publications (see footnote 9 above). According to his reconstruction, L117 and L118 did not form part of the Hasmonean villa but were added to the settlement secondarily, when it was transformed into an Essene cultic center.

(29) Magen and Peleg, *Back to Qumran*, 104.

(30) Magen and Peleg, *Back to Qumran*, 83.

(31) De Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1–3, Pl. III; Irina Yezerski, "Iron Age III Pottery Vessels from the Renewed Excavations in Qumran," in Magen and Peleg, *Back to Qumran*, 339–57.

L118 postdate L110 but precede the installation of the main water system. Magen and Peleg overlook this intermediate phase—practically erasing the early system of channels which fed L110, L117, and L118—and date the construction of L117 and L118 to the same phase as the aqueduct and the rest of the pools in the main water system. This is obviously incorrect. The two stepped pools have to be attributed to the earliest phase of the late Hellenistic settlement (i.e., the first half of the first century BCE), (32) before the settlement underwent further expansion. Since L110 preceded L117 and L118, the most logical explanation is that it dates to the Iron Age, an attribution supported by its unique technical properties relative to all the other cisterns and pools at Qumran. In any case, any reconstruction which ignores the existence of L117 and L118 in the settlement's pre-aqueduct stage is flawed.

Magen and Peleg make the same error when they assign the potters' kilns (L64/84 and L66) (33) solely to their Phase B—again, based largely on their premise that this is when Qumran became a pottery manufacturing center. However, the site's stratigraphy clearly indicates that the two kilns in L66 were decommissioned by the construction of the aqueduct and the stepped pool L48/49, with the latter partially built over the kilns. (34) In contrast, the kilns in L64 and L84, located as

(32) For the dating, see Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 63–69; Mizzi, "Qumran Period I Reconsidered."

(33) In addition to the kilns in L64/84 and L66, Magen and Peleg identify various ovens around the site as potters' kilns (e.g., Magen and Peleg, *Back to Qumran*, 133, Fig. 125). They neither substantiate nor discuss this interpretation, and comparanda from the ancient Near East and the ethnographic record clearly show that these installations were ovens, not kilns. See, for example, Jennie Ebeling and M. Rogel, "The *Tabun* and Its Misidentification in the Archaeological Record," *Levant* 47 (2015): 328–49.

(34) See Humbert and Chambon, *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân et de Ain Feshkha*, Pls. 174–78. The dating of the kilns in L66 requires further comment. De Vaux (*Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 4–5) attributes the two kilns to his Period Ia. Magness (*The Archaeology of Qumran*, 64) suggests that if de Vaux's Period Ia did not exist, the kilns in L66 might date to the Iron Age as they represent a type of oval or circular kiln (sometimes with a central pillar) attested in Palestine from the Bronze Age on. See, for example, Ann Killebrew, "Pottery Kilns from Deir el-Balah and Tel Mique-Ekron," in *Retrieving the Past: Essays on Archaeological Research and Methodology in Honor of Gus W. Van Beek*, ed. Joe D. Seger (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1996), 135–62. In fact, in his field notes, de Vaux tentatively assigned these kilns to the Iron Age. However, Mizzi believes that the fact that one of the kilns survived almost intact suggests the potters' workshop in L66 went out of use about the same time when it was buried under fill in preparation for the construction of L48/49. It seems unlikely that the kiln would have been so well preserved if the workshop dated to the Iron Age. Moreover, the typology of the kilns fits well with that of Hellenistic or later kilns from around the Mediterranean. See, for example, Eleni Hasaki, "Ancient Greek Ceramic Kilns and Their Contribution to the Technology and Organization of the Potter's Workshops," in *Ancient Greek Technology: Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference*, ed.

they are within the triangular annex, assume the existence of the main water system. These two kilns likely were built as a replacement for those in L66. The kilns at Qumran, therefore, were not contemporaneous. More importantly, this means that pottery was manufactured at Qumran before the installation of the aqueduct, contrary to Magen and Peleg's claim.

Even more problematic is Magen and Peleg's misrepresentation of evidence from the dumps. Much of the material they excavated comes from four dumps (middens) around the settlement: one on the plateau, to the south of the settlement; one to its immediate east; and two to the north. (35) On the basis of this material, they conclude that "[t]he southern refuse dump is the earliest one at the site, and is dated to the first century BCE." (36) They also note that "[s]ignificantly, unlike the eastern one, this refuse dump yielded no sherds that could be defined as manufacturing waste. *This fact is of great importance, and indicates that this was not a pottery manufacturing center in phase A.*" (37) Magen and Peleg cite the absence of wasters from the southern dump to support their claim that Qumran became a pottery manufacturing center only in the first century CE. However, among the published pottery are fragments of wasters from the southern dump. One such fragment, which is published as a waster, comes from L336. (38) A few other vessels from L201 (which are correctly dated by Eisenstadt to the first century BCE) are warped, deformed, or otherwise damaged—and therefore are connected with local pottery production. (39) Finally, Eisenstadt publishes a warped storage jar dating to "the first half of Herod's reign" (40) from L44, which is part of the potters' workshop in L64/84 and thus belongs to a phase after L66 went out of use. There could be many other unpublished examples like these, as Magen and Peleg mention "huge amounts of clay vessels and production

Theodosios P. Tasios and Clairry Palyvou (Athens: Technical Chamber of Greece, 2006), 221–27; Hasaki Hasaki and Konstantinos T. Raptis, "Roman and Byzantine Ceramic Kilns in Greece (1st–15th c. CE): Continuities and Changes in Kiln Typology and Spatial Organization of Production," in *Archeologia delle produzioni ceramiche nel mondo antico: Spazi, prodotti, strumenti e tecniche. Atti del convegno (Genova, 1–2 Dicembre 2014)*, ed. Nicola Cucuzza, Bianca Maria Giannattasio, and Silvia Pallecchi (Rome: Aracne, 2016), 209–29.

(35) Magen and Peleg, *Back to Qumran*, 58–69. The eastern and northeastern dumps were partially excavated by de Vaux (cf. L145 and Trenches A and B).

(36) Magen and Peleg, *Back to Qumran*, 59.

(37) Magen and Peleg, *Back to Qumran*, 59 (our emphasis); also cf. 67.

(38) Eisenstadt, "Qumran Pottery," 260–61, Pl. 23:2.

(39) Eisenstadt, "Qumran Pottery," 254–55, Pl. 20:4 (deformed bowl), 20:6 (bowl with rim cracked during firing); 248–49; Pl. 17:16 (warped cooking pot; cf. discussion of Q-CP2 on 193, 211).

(40) Eisenstadt, "Qumran Pottery," 216–17, Pl. 4.

waste.” (41) Presumably, the reason only a small number of wasters can be identified in their final report is because they publish just a representative sample. Therefore, not only do Magen and Peleg disregard the site’s stratigraphy on account of their preconceived understanding of the history and nature of Qumran, but they omit key evidence which contradicts their hypothesis.

Humbert and Chambon’s publication must be read with careful attention to detail as well. For example, in L72, where the aqueduct curves east–southeast to feed the series of small pools that terminate at L71, de Vaux noted evidence of earthquake damage to the main channel: “Indice que le canal principal a été coupé par le tremblement de terre [of 31 BCE], ce qui remet bien des choses en question” (L72: 01/04/1954). If the aqueduct was interrupted by the earthquake of 31 BCE, it could not have continued to supply the largest pool (L71) and the smaller pools nearby in the following decades. Nevertheless, de Vaux reconstructed a channel which continued to feed these pools up to the settlement’s destruction in 68 CE. In Humbert and Chambon’s view, de Vaux deliberately ignored this evidence. They reason that since de Vaux does not mention any evidence of repairs and since it is unlikely that the eastern half of the water system would have been left in disrepair for most of the settlement’s existence, the damage must be attributed to a later earthquake. (42) This provides Humbert and Chambon with another opening to push forward the dating of the aqueduct (as in the case of L89 above).

Leaving aside the fact that de Vaux’s field notes can be quite terse at times, meaning that he does not always mention everything his team discovered, a close analysis of the excavation’s progress reveals that Humbert and Chambon misread de Vaux, who most certainly *did not* ignore this evidence. In *Revue Biblique* 61 (1954), de Vaux published the results of his 1953 excavations at Qumran. Here he stated that L71 was constructed after the earthquake of 31 BCE, during his Period II, at which time the aqueduct that had supplied L48/49 was diverted south to fill the pool. (43) In his notes from the following excavation season, de Vaux observed that at the point where the aqueduct bifurcated to the south, it cut the thick wall at the southern end of L66 (L66: 03/03/1954). Because he had ascribed this wall to his Period I, de Vaux

(41) Magen and Peleg, *Back to Qumran*, 130, 210.

(42) Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân et Aïn Feshkha IIIA*, 29. See also Humbert, “Reconsideration of the Archaeological Interpretation of Qumran,” 439.

(43) Roland de Vaux, “Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân: rapport préliminaire sur la deuxième campagne,” *RB* 61 (1954): 206–36 (211).



assumed that this last segment of the aqueduct must date to Period II. One month later, on 01/04/1954, de Vaux found that the part of the aqueduct passing through L72 had been damaged by an earthquake, which he identified with that of 31 BCE. This contradicted his assumption that the aqueduct was diverted south only after the earthquake, and it is for this reason that he stated, “ce qui remet bien des choses en question.” Ultimately, de Vaux revised his earlier assumptions and concluded that this section of the aqueduct and L71 were constructed before the earthquake. He also updated his periodization, splitting Period I into two: Ia and Ib, placing the construction of the main water system (including L71) firmly in the latter. (44) He either observed or assumed but did not mention evidence of the repair and continued use of the channel and L71 after the earthquake, as shown on his site plans. Whether or not we accept de Vaux’s attribution of the damage sustained by the aqueduct to the earthquake of 31 BCE is another matter altogether. What we wish to highlight here is the fact that sections of Humbert and Chambon’s report misrepresent the views of the excavator whose work they publish. (45)

The above examples show the methodological cracks that underlie both volumes. The principal problem is that they both suffer from confirmation bias, or what we can call, following David Fischer, the fallacy of declarative questions. As David Fischer notes, “[i]f a historian goes to his sources with a simple affirmative proposition that ‘X was the case,’ then he is predisposed to prove it.” (46) This is a common logical fallacy in scholarship, including Qumran studies. When this happens in the context of a final report, however, the ramifications are far more serious. The disagreements between Humbert and Chambon and Magen and Peleg do not stem from the ambiguity or multivalent nature of the archaeological evidence, and their respective chronologies and interpretations of the site are not the end point of a detailed analysis of the data. Quite the contrary, their hypotheses merely reflect two different premises, or starting points, which dictate and color their presentation and interpretation of the archaeological remains. However, as we

(44) See de Vaux, “Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân: rapport préliminaire sur les 3<sup>e</sup>, 4<sup>e</sup>, et 5<sup>e</sup> campagnes,” where we find the first full expression of de Vaux’s chronology, with Period I split into two.

(45) In the same vein, readers should keep in mind that the digitally rendered section drawings in the volume represent Humbert and Chambon’s reconstructions based on their understanding of de Vaux’s notes and photographs, rather than what de Vaux might have actually observed. Therefore, these should not be taken as raw data obtained firsthand during the excavations conducted in the 1950s.

(46) David H. Fischer, *Historians’ Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), 24.



have shown, neither of the two withstands scrutiny. We now move on to general matters of interpretation.

### 3. Interpretation

Archaeology is not a hard science, and the move from data in the present to interpretation of the past always involves one or more interpretative leaps. Despite the impression one might get, especially in a field as crowded with competing interpretations as Qumran studies, this does not mean that any interpretation is possible, or that archaeology has no checks and balances. In other words, there are indeed methods by which to discern good from bad arguments in archaeology.

Michael Smith summarizes succinctly the ideal structure of an archaeological argument, which should ensure that statements can be tested and evaluated. A hypothesis (or claim) has to be supported by reasons which are logical and which are based, in turn, on a preponderance of evidence. Linking data, reasons, and claims are warrants (or principles), which provide validity to the overall argument. As Smith notes,

The two primary types of archaeological warrant are theory and comparative data. Arguments should be justified on the basis of one or more theoretical principles, and they should not violate accepted theoretical precepts. Arguments should also be justified by citing comparative data that establish at least the plausibility of the reason and claim. (47)

The theoretical principles can range from high-level theories, to middle-range theories that bridge the divide between data and explanation or interpretation, to low-level theories applied in data collection, such as the principles of archaeological stratigraphy and typology. Comparative data ideally should take the form of parallels from contemporary sites in the same general region, but they could also be drawn from the historical and ethnographic record, provided the analogies are pertinent, as well as from general archaeological models. Importantly, the strength of a claim or hypothesis can be upheld only if it is tested against alternative claims or hypotheses and proven to provide a better explanation of the totality of the evidence. (48) The arguments

(47) Michael E. Smith, “How Can Archaeologists Make Better Arguments?” *The SAA Archaeological Record* 15/4 (2015): 18–23, at 19–20.

(48) Smith, “How Can Archaeologists Make Better Arguments?” 19–23. See also the important article by Lars Fogelin, “Inference to the Best Explanation: A Common

that run through both reports under consideration here are weak because they fall short of this standard of reasoning.

Let us consider, for example, Humbert and Chambon's hypothesis that Qumran was a Hasmonean villa. This claim is based on the presence of a few architectural fragments, including column drums and bases, a frieze with an egg-and-dart motif, as well as a number of *opus sectile* tiles. (49) On this basis, Humbert and Chambon conclude that Qumran was a villa in the Hasmonean period and then proceed to reconstruct it accordingly. The claim has the advantage of being based on actual archaeological evidence, but it lacks the necessary warrants to justify the links made between the different constituent parts of the argument. All the architectural elements and *opus sectile* tiles come from secondary contexts. Moreover, there are no preserved surfaces with traces of tile impressions—a feature attested wherever *opus sectile* floors were actually installed—nor are there the expected structural features to accommodate the presumed columns, such as bases or stylobates. Furthermore, the types of architectural elements present are random and erratic, even including an unfinished capital. More problematic, however, is the fact that all *opus sectile* floors known from ancient Palestine date to the Herodian period or later. (50) It is clear that neither the comparative nor the site-specific evidence justify the links Humbert and Chambon make between evidence, reasons, and claims. However we explain the presence of these decorative elements—Mizzi, for example, suggests they were brought over, together with other stones, as construction material from nearby sites (51)—one thing is beyond doubt: they do not attest to the existence of a Hasmonean villa.

In contrast, Magen and Peleg's supposition that Qumran was a military outpost is based on a reason and a warrant but without evidence. They emphasize the site's strategic position, which serves as their primary reason for attributing Qumran a critical role in the local infrastructure—namely, as a lookout post overseeing the north end of the Dead Sea. In addition, the general historical background, particularly

and Effective Form of Archaeological Reasoning," *American Antiquity* 72 (2007): 603–25.

(49) For the bibliography, see footnote 9 above.

(50) See further Mizzi, "Qumran Period I Reconsidered," 30–40 (and references there). The dating of the architectural elements is quite broad, with parallels from the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Of course, this does not provide a warrant to date these elements to the Hasmonean period, not without further supporting evidence, which is lacking as we note in the main text.

(51) Mizzi, "Qumran Period I Reconsidered," 39–40.

the rise of the Hasmonean dynasty and its annexation of the territories around the Dead Sea, which turned the region into a frontier zone, provides a backdrop or warrant for their claim. (52) While both the reason and warrant are valid and seemingly compelling, without corroborating evidence they constitute a weak argument. As Smith notes, “researchers tend to give more credibility to claims that are backed up with reasons based on evidence than to claims that are inferred from a reason and a warrant. The latter is an argument based on general principles, not on evidence.” (53)

Indeed, rather than basing their reason on actual archaeological evidence, Magen and Peleg use the reason to retroactively reconstruct Hasmonean Qumran in a way that is consistent with their overarching claim. Needless to say, for an argument to work, the process has to proceed in the exact reverse order. Magen and Peleg, for example, have not proven that the tower in the northwest corner of the main building was part of the original layout of the settlement—they just assume it was, namely because Qumran had to have functioned as a lookout post in their view. (54) In addition to this tower, Magen and Peleg reconstruct two more towers in connection with their Phase A: one at the northeast corner of the main building (i.e., L6/40 and L39/47) and the other at the northwest corner of the western building (i.e., L122 and L123). (55) However, they provide no evidence in this regard, either. In the absence of evidence, Magen and Peleg’s reason for claiming that Qumran was a Hasmonean military outpost loses much of its explanatory power. In fact, one could argue that the fortress of Hyrcania, which was located ca. 15 km to the west of Qumran, fulfilled the same purpose that Magen and Peleg attribute to Qumran far more effectively. In this case, there would be no reason to assume that Qumran had to have been an integral part of the Hasmonean military infrastructure in the Dead Sea region. The warrant may also be questioned since the historical understanding of the Hasmonean kingdom remains debated, and some scholars have moved away from hegemonic models of kingship, envisioning instead a more fragmented and decentralized kingdom that was dependent on local alliances and power

(52) Magen and Peleg, *Back to Qumran*, 104–7, 114.

(53) Smith, “How Can Archaeologists Make Better Arguments?” 20.

(54) In fact, evidence from their excavation provides strong indications that the tower belongs to a later stage of the settlement. Magen and Peleg opened two soundings along the tower’s east wall (one in L10 and the other in L28), revealing segments of a plaster floor which predated the tower and must date to the earliest phase of the late Hellenistic settlement. However, Magen and Peleg ignore this evidence. See Magen and Peleg, *Back to Qumran*, 19–20, Figs. 16–17.

(55) Magen and Peleg, *Back to Qumran*, 28, 56.

negotiations. (56) The Dead Sea, therefore, was not necessarily a “Hasmonean lake.” (57)

At the level of the microscale, Magen and Peleg’s claim that the various stepped pools at Qumran were not Jewish ritual baths (*miqwa’ot*) but collection pools for potters’ clay is an example of an interpretation that lacks both supporting evidence and warrant. (58) This argument is based on their “[d]iscovery” that pools L71 and L91, which de Vaux had partly excavated and which they finished clearing, were filled with a thick layer of sediment consisting of clay-like silt. However, Magen and Peleg fail to cite any scientific support for their claim, such as Instrumental Neutron Activation Analysis (INAA) or petrographic analysis of the “clay deposits” from these pools and the pottery from Qumran. If Magen and Peleg are correct, the sediment from L71, L91, and the pottery vessels found at the site should be made of the same clay. Instead, they describe the sediment as “potters’ clay” without providing any basis for this identification. (59) In fact, petrographic analyses indicate that clays taken from the Qumran aqueduct do not match the composition of Qumran pottery, which is made of raw material extracted from sediments of the Lisan Formation and clays from several wadis along the Dead Sea. (60) Even if Magen and Peleg were correct in

(56) See, for example, Seth Schwartz, “Jewish States,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the State in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*, ed. Peter Fibiger Bang and Walter Scheidel (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2013), 180–98 (193–94); idem, “Israel and the Nations Roundabout: 1 Maccabees and the Hasmonean Expansion,” *JJS* 42 (1991): 16–38; Torleif Elgvin, “Violence, Apologetics, and Resistance: Hasmonaean Ideology and *Yahad* Texts in Dialogue,” in *The War Scroll, Violence, War and Peace in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honour of Martin G. Abegg on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. Kipp Davis, Dorothy M. Peters, Kyung S. Baek, and Peter W. Flint, STDJ 115 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 319–40; Benedikt Eckhardt, “The Hasmoneans and Their Rivals in Seleucid and Post-Seleucid Judea,” *JSJ* 47 (2016): 55–70, esp. 66–70; Daniel T. Ryan, *Judaean Political Organisation (104–76 BCE)* (DPhil diss., University of Cambridge, 2018), <https://doi.org/10.17863/CAM.21106>.

(57) See also Yizhar Hirschfeld, *Qumran in Context: Reassessing the Archaeological Evidence* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004), 211–21; idem, “The Archaeology of the Dead Sea Valley in the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods,” in *New Frontiers in Dead Sea Paleoenvironmental Research*, ed. Yehuda Enzel, Amotz Agnon, and Mordechai Stein (Boulder, CO: Geological Society of America, 2006), 215–29; Joan E. Taylor, *The Essenes, the Scrolls, and the Dead Sea* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2012), 216–43, 251–52.

(58) Magen and Peleg, *Back to Qumran*, 86, 90, 119–22.

(59) It is therefore ironic that they claim, “[a]ll the other theories [about Qumran] lack even a minimal scientific foundation, and are based on erroneous statements unrelated to the results of the archaeological excavation.” See Magen and Peleg, *Back to Qumran*, 137 (our emphasis).

(60) See Jodi Magness, “The Connection between the Site of Qumran and the Scroll Caves in Light of the Ceramic Evidence,” in *The Caves of Qumran: Proceedings*

claiming that the sediment is potters' clay, this would prove only that the sediment that washed in with the flood waters happened to contain clay, not that the pools were designed for use in a pottery production center.

More problematically, their argument violates the two types of archaeological warrant—comparative evidence and the theoretical precepts which govern its interpretation. In claiming that the stepped pools at Qumran were not *miqwa'ot*, Magen and Peleg ignore a large corpus of analogous installations which scholars agree are Jewish ritual immersion pools. (61) These water installations are found in a wide variety of settings, including domestic buildings, palaces, farmhouses, next to wine and olive presses, along roads, and adjacent to burial caves, synagogues, and the Jerusalem temple. (62) They are also attested close to some pottery workshops, but there is no indication that they were used differently than the pools in the aforementioned contexts. (63) If the stepped pools at Qumran were used to collect potters' clay, this would make their use unique in the face of a host of evidence which suggests otherwise. It would also make Qumran a rather distinctive pottery workshop. In this regard, it is troubling that Magen and Peleg simply ignore the evidence from parallel workshops, stating (incorrectly) that “[i]t is noteworthy that no Second Temple-period pottery workshop has thus far been found and fully excavated, making it impossible to compare Qumran with any other contemporaneous site.” (64) This is what gives

*of the International Conference, Lugano 2014*, ed. Marcello Fidanzio, STDJ 118 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 184–94 (184–86, and further references there).

(61) See the corpora published in Ronny Reich, *Miqwa'ot (Jewish Ritual Baths) in the Second Temple, Mishnaic and Talmudic Periods* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi; Israel Exploration Society, 2013) [Hebrew]; Yonatan Adler, *The Archaeology of Purity: Archaeological Evidence for the Observance of Ritual Purity in Eretz-Israel from the Hasmonean Period until the End of the Talmudic Era (164 BCE–400 CE)* (PhD diss., Bar-Ilan University, 2011), 319–343 [Hebrew]. See further Ronny Reich, “Some Notes on the *Miqwa'ot* and Cisterns at Qumran,” in *Viewing Ancient Jewish Art and Archaeology: VeHinnei Rachel—Essays in Honor of Rachel Hachlili*, ed. Ann. E. Killebrew and Gabriele Faßbeck, JSJSup 172 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 414–24.

(62) See Boaz Zissu and David Amit, “Common Judaism, Common Purity, and the Second Temple Period Judean *Miqwa'ot* (Ritual Immersion Pools),” in *Common Judaism: Explorations in Second-Temple Judaism*, ed. Wayne O. McCready and Adele Reinhartz (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2008), 47–62; Yonatan Adler, “Tosefta Shabbat 1:14—‘Come and See the Extent to Which Purity Had Spread’: An Archaeological Perspective on the Historical Background to a Late Tannaitic Passage,” in *Talmuda de-Eretz Israel: Archaeology and the Rabbis in Late Antique Palestine*, ed. Steven Fine and Aaron Koller, StudJ 73 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 63–82 (67–76).

(63) See, for example, Danit Levi and Ron Be'eri. “Jerusalem, Binyanē Ha-'Umma,” *ESI* 123 (2011): [http://hadashot-esi.org.il/report\\_detail\\_eng.aspx?id=1813&mag\\_id=118](http://hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=1813&mag_id=118).

(64) Magen and Peleg, *Back to Qumran*, 130.

them license to make these claims. However, their statement is patently untrue and it ignores the evidence from a number of contemporary workshops, including Binyanei Ha'uma (Jerusalem), Tel Hebron, Kfar Hananya, Karm er-Ras, and Yodefat. (65)

Another pertinent example at the level of the microscale is Humbert and Chambon's identification of the installation in L64 as a lime kiln rather than a pottery kiln. (66) They cite de Vaux, who describes L64 and the space around it (L84) as filled with lime. However, de Vaux's notes clearly show that the use of L64 as a storage space for lime (*not* as a lime kiln) was secondary to its original function (L64: 03/03/1954, 14/03/1954). (67) According to Humbert and Chambon, L64 "n'est pas conforme à la morphologie de four à poterie antique," (68) for the following reasons: 1) the ledge around the kiln's interior is too narrow to accommodate more than a few jars and would have been unstable; 2) the kiln would have had to be loaded from the top, with the roof

(65) For Binyanei Ha'uma (Jerusalem), see Benny Arubas and Haim Goldfus, "Introduction to the Excavations," in *Excavations on the Site of the Jerusalem International Convention Center (Binyanei Ha'uma): A Settlement of the Late First to Second Temple Period, the Tenth Legion's Kilnworks, and a Byzantine Monastic Complex: The Pottery and Other Small Finds*, ed. Benny Arubas and Haim Goldfus, JRASup 60 (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2005), 11–16; Andrea M. Berlin, "Pottery and Pottery Production in the Second Temple Period," in Arubas and Goldfus, *Excavations on the Site of the Jerusalem International Convention Center (Binyanei Ha'uma)*, 29–60; Renate Rosenthal-Heginbottom, "The 1968 Excavations," in Arubas and Goldfus, *Excavations on the Site of the Jerusalem International Convention Center (Binyanei Ha'uma)*, 229–82; Levi and Be'eri, "Jerusalem, Binyanē Ha-'Umma." For Tel Hebron, see David Ben-Shlomo, "Pottery Production at Tel Hebron during the Early Roman Period," *JSRS* 25 (2016): 111–36; David Ben-Shlomo, and Emanuel Eisenberg, "The Remains in Area 53A: Stratigraphy and Architecture," in *The Tel Hebron 2014 Excavations: Final Report*, ed. Emanuel Eisenberg and David Ben-Shlomo, AUIAMS 1 (Ariel: Ariel Univ. Press, 2017), 105–249 (174–80). For Yodefat, see Mordechai Aviam, "'Kefar Hananya Ware' Made in Yodefat: Pottery Production at Yodefat in the First Century AD," in *Roman Pottery in the Near East: Local Production and Regional Trade. Proceedings of the Round Table Held in Berlin, 19–20 February 2010*, ed. Bettina Fischer-Genz, Yvonne Gerber, and Hanna Hamel, RLAMP 3 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2014), 139–46. For Karm er-Ras, see Yardenna Alexandre, "Karm er-Ras near Kafr Kanna," in *The Archaeological Record from Cities, Towns, and Villages*, vol. 2 of *Galilee in the Late Second Temple and Mishnaic Periods*, ed. David A. Fiensy and James Riley Strange (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2015), 146–57 (150). See further Magness, "The Connection between the Site of Qumran and the Scroll Caves in Light of the Ceramic Evidence," 185; idem, "Qumran: The Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Review Article," *RevQ* 22 (2006): 641–64 (649–58).

(66) Humbert and Alain Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân et Aïn Feshkha IIIA*, 221–25.

(67) See also de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 43.

(68) Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân et Aïn Feshkha IIIA*, 223.

constructed after the vessels had been placed inside and with it possibly resting directly on them if the batch included jars; and 3) there are no traces of an internal floor on which the jars were placed. However, comparisons with pottery kilns at Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine workshops in Palestine and elsewhere around the Mediterranean contradict their claim. The narrow ledge in L64 is surely associated with a floor that is not preserved, (69) as for example in the Roman kilns at Binyanei Ha'uma in Jerusalem. (70) Humbert and Chambon's reservations about the roofing is also unfounded since the large kiln in L64 is an updraft kiln, and these were in fact typically loaded from an opening at the top (i.e., in the firing chamber). In other words, updraft kilns had no permanent roof because this had to be (re)built and dismantled with every batch of pottery that was fired. (71) Eleni Hasaki notes that "ceramic kilns share some fundamental technical features with other pyrotechnological structures," including lime kilns, (72) which is why attention to spatial context is critical. The fact that there is a small pottery kiln in L84, to the immediate north of the large kiln in L64, strongly suggests that both were used to fire pottery, their different dimensions intended to cater for different vessel types and sizes. The two kilns were part of a larger potters' workshop, which also included a potting area (L65) to the south, so identified by the presence of a stone-lined installation that likely held the potter's wheel; (73) a clay levigation pool (L70); (74) and storage compartments for newly

(69) This would have been a perforated floor, the holes allowing hot air from the combustion chamber below to flow up and fire the vessels placed on it. Traces of such a perforated floor can be seen in the smaller kiln in L84, to the immediate north of L64. See de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Pl. XIVb; Humbert and Chambon, *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân et de Ain Feshkha I*, Pls. 362–64; idem, *Khirbet Qumrân et Ain Feshkha IIIA*, Fig. 85.

(70) See Benny Arubas and Haim Goldfus, "The Kilnworks of the Tenth Legion Fretensis," in *The Roman and Byzantine Near East: Some Recent Archaeological Research*, ed. John H. Humphrey, JRASup 14 (Ann Arbor, MI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1995), 95–107 (98, 101, Figs. 3, 6). Cf. also Type Ie of Hasaki's kiln typology in eadem, "Ancient Greek Ceramic Kilns," Fig. 1.

(71) See, for example, William D. E. Coulson and Nancy C. Wilkie. "Ptolemaic and Roman Kilns in the Western Nile Delta," *BASOR* 263 (1986): 61–75, esp. 69; Hasaki and Raptis, "Roman and Byzantine Ceramic Kilns," 209; Eli Yannai, "Yavne," *ESI* 126 (2014): [http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\\_detail\\_eng.aspx?id=13677&mag\\_id=121](http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=13677&mag_id=121).

(72) Hasaki, "Ancient Greek Ceramic Kilns," 222.

(73) See de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 16–17, Pl. XIIIb; Humbert and Chambon, *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân et de Ain Feshkha I*, Figs. XXVI–XXVII, Pl. 372; idem, *Khirbet Qumrân et Ain Feshkha IIIA*, Fig. 85a; Magen and Peleg, *Back to Qumran*, Fig. 104.

(74) See de Vaux, "Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân: rapport préliminaire sur les 3<sup>e</sup>, 4<sup>e</sup>, et 5<sup>e</sup> campagnes," 543–44; idem, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 16–17;



fired pots to the north, in the triangular annex (cf. the stacks of pottery found in situ in L44, L45, L59, and L61). (75) Once again, therefore, we have an instance where the reason and the claim are not supported by a warrant—at least not one which is valid.

One final point is that Humbert and Chambon and Magen and Peleg fail to test their respective hypotheses against alternative claims. In fact, both volumes are characterized by a willful refusal to engage with the extensive corpus of scholarship on Qumran. That this is a deliberate decision is indicated by the fact that they have repeated the same assertions and interpretations in their publications over the last couple of decades, while ignoring (without offering counterarguments to) the challenges that different scholars have posed to their respective interpretations.

#### 4. Concluding Remarks

Through these examples, we hope to have shown that our disagreements with the views presented in the two reports do not stem from a mere difference of opinion but, rather, from deep-rooted problems of method and interpretation. It is for this very reason that we have refrained from emphasizing our own respective interpretations of Qumran. Therefore, while both reports publish important, new information about Qumran, they need to be used cautiously and judiciously.

The publication of a final excavation report does not represent the last word on the interpretation of the site, but the beginning of a dialogue between the excavators and the rest of the scholarly community. The success of this exchange depends on the quality of the final report, which must include a comprehensive and objective presentation of the data and should invite analysis instead of being considered definitive. Regrettably, neither of the two reports in question facilitates this process because they omit critical information and conflate raw data with interpretation. (76) We hope this article helps scholars

Humbert and Chambon, *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân et de Aïn Feshkha I*, Figs. XXVI–XXVII, Pls. 365, 373; idem, *Khirbet Qumrân et Aïn Feshkha IIIA*, Fig. 98; Magen and Peleg, *Back to Qumran*, 88, Figs. 103–4.

(75) See Humbert and Chambon, *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân et de Aïn Feshkha I*, Pls. 349–59.

(76) Moreover, rather than inviting scholarly dialogue and continued interpretation of the excavated material, Magen and Peleg attempt to preclude any further discussion or challenge to their work. In the preface to the final report, Magen complains that “[w]riting scientific research on Qumran became more difficult and unpleasant than anything I had previously encountered. The difficulty resulted from the multitude of articles and theories regarding the site, all of which had to be read, and every opinion



use and evaluate Humbert and Chambon's and Magen and Peleg's respective reports, while underlining the importance of distinguishing between method and interpretation—especially in a field as populous with competing theories as Qumran.

Dennis MIZZI

University of Malta, Msida MSD 2080, Malta  
dennis.mizzi@um.edu.mt

Jodi MAGNESS

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill,  
Chapel Hill, NC 27599, USA  
magness@email.unc.edu

quoted, even if unimportant, incorrect, or irrelevant. The unpleasantness was due to the sharp and sometimes belittling criticism by those supporting the 'new Essene sect' in response to any article rejecting the Essene presence at Qumran" (Magen and Peleg, *Back to Qumran*, xi–xii; cf. also their comments on xvi). Magen and Peleg's remarks are not conducive to scholarship, especially in the context of a final report, which *must* be scrutinized and engaged with critically. Our comments here are offered in the interest of furthering scholarly dialogue and analysis.

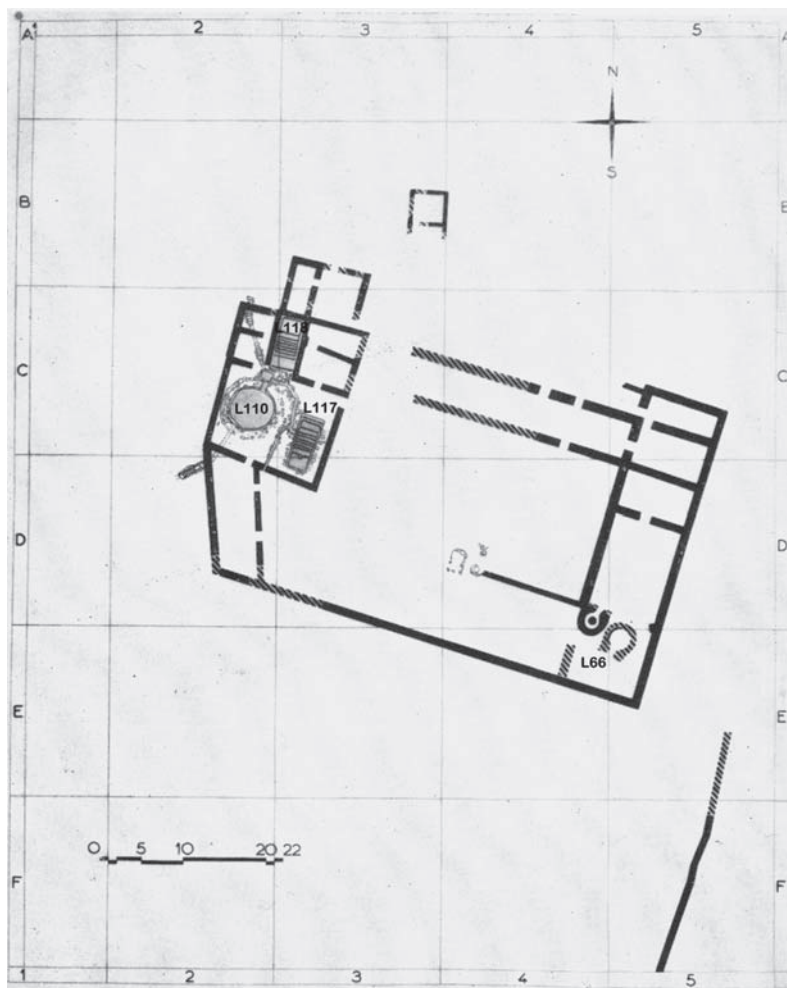


Figure 1: Plan of Qumran, showing the settlement at de Vaux's Period Ia stage (© The British Academy 1973. Reproduced by permission from *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls* by Roland de Vaux [Schweich Lectures on Biblical Archaeology], with annotations by the present authors).

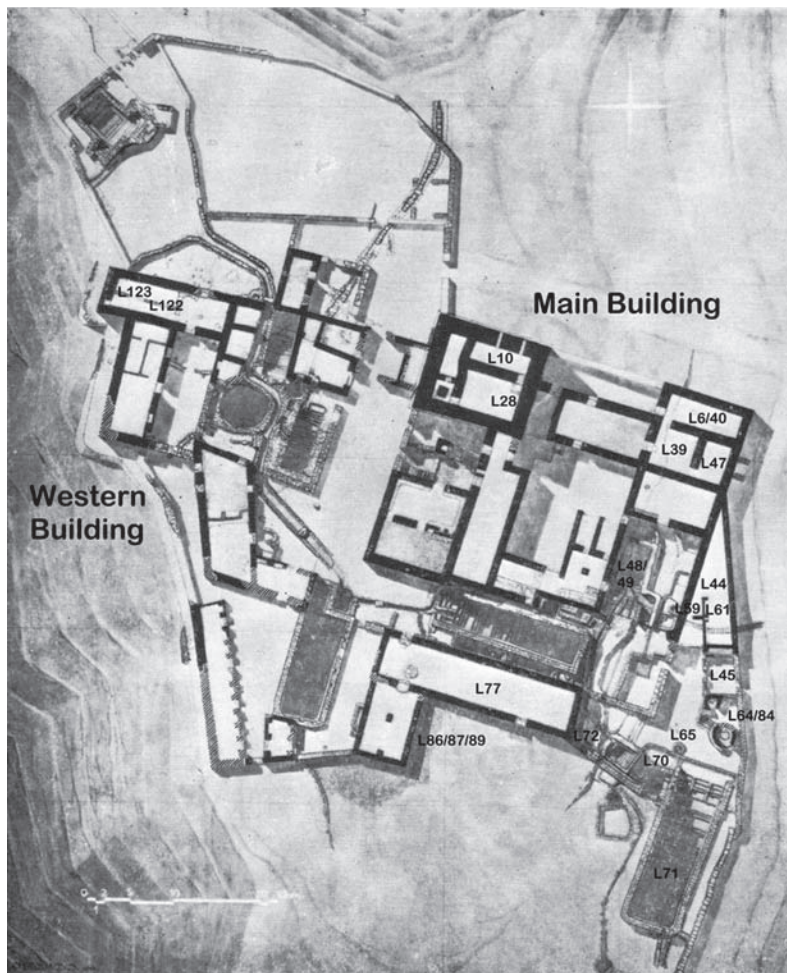


Figure 2: Plan of Qumran, showing the settlement at de Vaux's Period Ib stage (© The British Academy 1973. Reproduced by permission from *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls* by Roland de Vaux [Schweich Lectures on Biblical Archaeology], with annotations by the present authors).

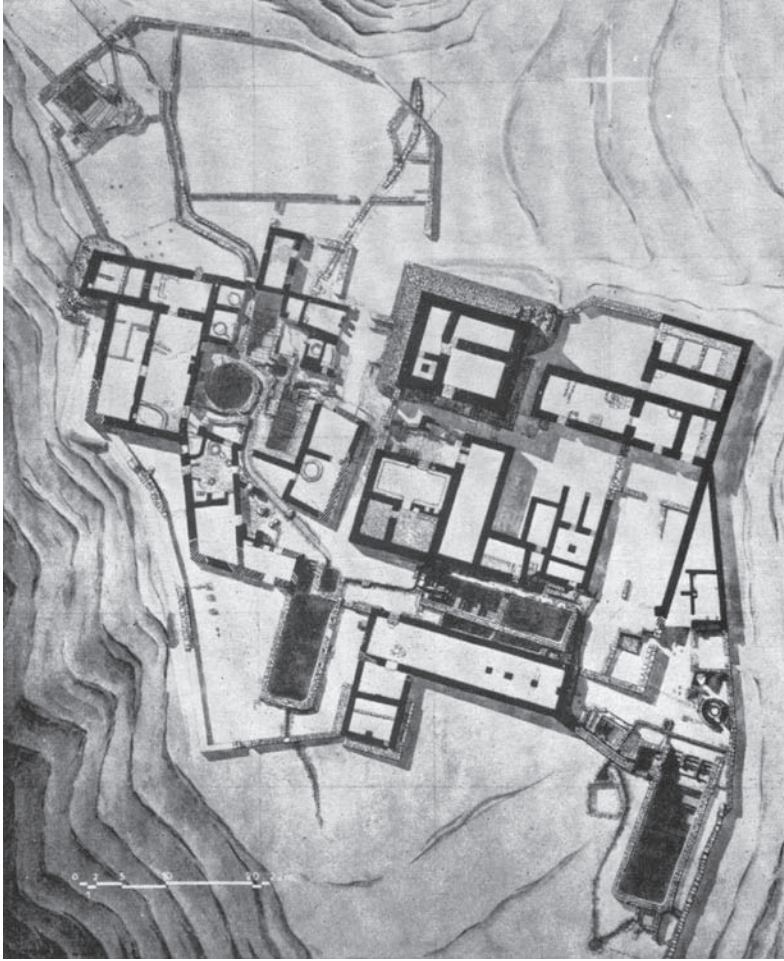


Figure 3: Plan of Qumran, showing the settlement at de Vaux's Period II stage (© The British Academy 1973. Reproduced by permission from *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls* by Roland de Vaux [Schweich Lectures on Biblical Archaeology]).

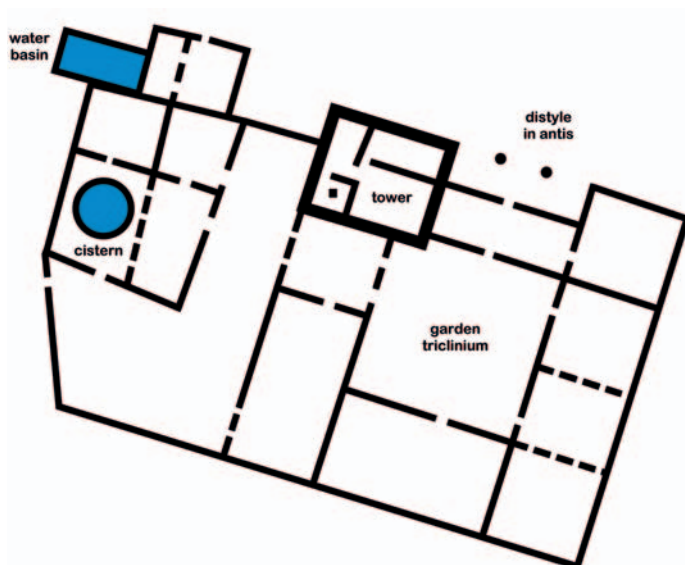


Figure 4: Qumran in the Hasmonean period according to Humbert and Chambon (Niveau 2) (© Dennis Mizzi; after Humbert, “Reconsideration of the Archaeological Interpretation of Qumran,” 422–23, Figs. 2–3).

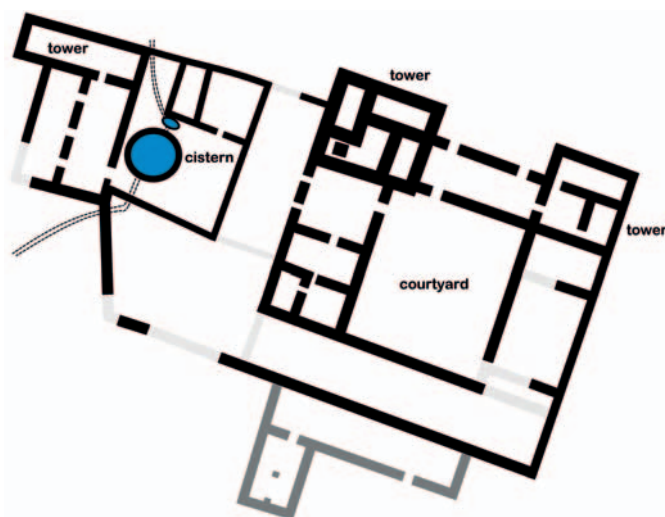


Figure 5: Qumran in the first century BCE according to Magen and Peleg (Phase A). L77 and L86/87/89 are shown in grey because they are considered secondary additions introduced during the Herodian period (© Dennis Mizzi; after Magen and Peleg, *Back to Qumran*, Fig. 119).





Figure 6: View of L77 and L86/87/89, looking southeast  
(Reproduced with permission of the Allegro Estate;  
courtesy of the Manchester Museum, University of Manchester).



Figure 7: Photo by Leo Boer, taken in 1954 during the excavation of L86/87/89; looking northwest, with L77 in the background. In the top left corner, one can see the clean cut made by the Period III aqueduct against the south wall of L77 (Reproduced by permission of the Leo Boer Archive: <https://npaph.com/archives/leo-boer-archive/>).

# THE HEBREW COPY OF TOBIT FROM QUMRAN: A TEXTUAL AND METHODOLOGICAL PUZZLE

## INTRODUCTION

THE book of Tobit is unique in many respects. Included in the collection of the Septuagint Scriptures, it did not earn a place in the Hebrew canon and neither was it preserved in the main Jewish heritage transmission channels. Although the fourth-century church father Jerome knew it in an Aramaic version, it was not transmitted to modern times through traditional channels. (1) Beside Jerome's Vulgate, said to have been translated from Aramaic, Tobit has been known traditionally in a Greek version and its daughter translations. The Old Latin (*Vetus Latina*) version has also been known but its peculiar character did not draw particular attention. The great watershed in the study of Tobit came with the discovery of the fourth-century Greek Codex Sinaiticus of the Scriptures. (2) Its publication in the middle of the

(1) See Jerome's report on the circumstances of his translation of Tobit in a letter to the Bishops Chromatius of Altinum and Heliodorus of Aquileia. The letter is reproduced, translated, and discussed by Vincent T. M. Skemp, *The Vulgate of Tobit Compared with Other Ancient Witnesses*, SBLDS 180 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2000), 15–21. The Aramaic version of Tobit preserved in the medieval manuscript 2339 in the Bodleian Library (Oxford), published by Adolf Neubauer, is apparently not the one that was in the possession of Jerome, as argued by its editor. Cf. idem, *The Book of Tobit: A Chaldean Text* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1878), vii. Its late character is evident from the artificial Aramaic in which it is written, influenced in particular by the Targum of Onkelos. See the study of Naomi Barlev, "The Language of the Aramaic Tobit according to the Bodleian 2339 Manuscript, Oxford" (MA thesis, Tel Aviv University, 1977) (Hebrew), and the comments of Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Aramaic and Hebrew Fragments of Tobit from Qumran Cave 4," *CBQ* 57 (1995): 655–75 (667–69).

(2) On this codex, see David C. Parker, *Codex Sinaiticus: The Story of the World's Oldest Bible* (London: The British Library; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2010), and the collection of articles *Codex Sinaiticus: New Perspectives on the Ancient Biblical Manuscript*, ed. S. McKendrick et al. (London: The British Library, 2015).

nineteenth century revealed a recension of Tobit that is longer and considerably different from the shorter traditional version transmitted by Codices Alexandrinus and Vaticanus and most of the cursive manuscripts. (3) Also surprising was the discovery that the peculiar textual tradition of Sinaiticus is close to that of the Old Latin, (4) rendering both as witnesses of an ancient type of text not well known before this discovery. The stylistic and vocabulary peculiarities of Codex Sinaiticus indicate a Semitic *Vorlage*, and after its publication a debate ensued regarding whether it was translated from a Hebrew or Aramaic original. While an important group of scholars favored an Aramaic original for Tobit and the Sinaiticus version, (5) others championed the thesis that the original was penned in Hebrew. (6)

Another turning point in the study of Tobit occurred following the discovery among the Qumran scrolls of five copies of Tobit, four in Aramaic (4Q196–4Q199) and one in Hebrew (4Q200). (7) So while most

(3) The short recension is now known as G<sup>I</sup> and the longer version as G<sup>II</sup>. A third one has also been detected among the Greek manuscripts, designated G<sup>III</sup>, and it falls between the long and short versions. On the three versions, see Robert Hanhart, *Tobit*, Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum VIII, 5 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 31–36; Christian J. Wagner, *Polyglotte Tobit-Synopse* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), XII–XVI. Hanhart edited the two versions in parallel sections and provided variants in the detailed apparatus. The translated citations from Greek Tobit in the present article are taken from his edition.

(4) For a general survey of the main witnesses of this version, see Stuart Weeks, Simon Gathercole, and Loren Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Tobit: Texts from the Principal and Medieval Traditions*, FSBP 3 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2004), 22–26. A detailed comparison of the Vulgate, Old Latin, Greek versions, and Qumran copies of Tobit has been undertaken by Skemp, *Vulgate of Tobit*. The Old Latin for Tobit has survived in various manuscripts, but no critical edition is yet available. See Jean-Marie Auwers, “La tradition vieille latine du livre de Tobie: Un état de la question,” in *The Book of Tobit: Text, Tradition, Theology*, ed. G. G. Xeravits and J. Zsengellér (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 1–21.

(5) See, for instance, James Rendel Harris, “The Double Text of Tobit: Contribution toward a Critical Inquiry,” *AmJT* 3 (1899): 541–54 (554); Derek C. Simpson, “The Book of Tobit,” *APOT*, 1:182; idem, “The Chief Recensions of the Book of Tobit,” *JTS* 14 (1912–1913): 516–30.

(6) See, for instance, Paul Joüon, “Quelques hébraïsmes du Codex Sinaiticus de Tobie,” *Bib* 4 (1923): 168–74; Frank Zimmermann, *The Book of Tobit* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958), xi, 141.

(7) The five copies are published by Joseph Fitzmyer, “196–200. 4QpapTobit<sup>a</sup> ar, 4QTobit<sup>b-d</sup> ar, and 4QTobit<sup>e</sup>,” in *Qumran Cave 4. XIV: Parabiblical Texts, Part 2*, ed. M. Broshi et al., DJD XIX (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 1–76. Later a fragment of a fifth Aramaic copy was published by Michaela Hallermayer and Torleif Elgvin, “Schøyen Ms. 5234: Ein neues Tobit-Fragment vom Toten Meer,” *RevQ* 22 (2006): 451–61. Other pieces of apparently the same manuscript are found in private hands. Cf. Stuart Weeks, “Restoring the Greek Tobit,” *JSJ* 44 (2013): 1–15 (3, n. 6). However lately it has been claimed that these additional fragments are forgeries. See Kipp Davis et al.,



of the students of Tobit saw here evidence for an Aramaic original, others persisted in assuming it was authored in Hebrew. (8) Indeed, the presence of a Hebrew copy may be seen, and thus has been taken, as pointing towards the latter assumption. Whatever the case may be, the debate regarding whether Tobit was composed originally in Hebrew or in Aramaic was rekindled. The issue is further complicated by the fact that Tobit, despite its nonbiblical plot and characters, employs biblical topoi and style and often reflects Biblical Hebrew phraseology. Moreover, lexically Tobit employs the type of contemporary Jewish Aramaic that is heavily influenced by Hebrew. (9) If indeed Tobit was composed in Aramaic, the question arises regarding when and how the Hebrew version, represented by 4Q200, came into being.

#### PREVIOUS EDITIONS

Józef Milik was the first to identify and assemble the manuscripts assigned to Tobit, but he never published their full edition. The first scholar to collect the citations from the Qumran Tobit copies in a

“Nine Dubious ‘Dead Sea Scrolls’ Fragments from the Twenty-First Century,” *DSD* 24 (2017): 32–33.

Indeed, Torleif Elgvin did not include this piece in his final edition of the Schøyen Collection, neither did he mention his above article in the bibliography of this volume. See Torleif Elgvin, Kipp Davis, and Michael Langlois, *Gleaning from the Caves: Dead Sea Scrolls and Artefacts from the Schøyen Collection* (London: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2016). Therefore, this papyrus fragment should not be considered as coming from a sixth copy of Tobit from Qumran, as stated by Daniel M. Machiela, “The Hebrew of Tobit in 4Q200: A Contextual Reassessment,” in *The Reconfiguration of Hebrew in the Hellenistic Period*, ed. J. Joosten, D. Machiela, and J.-S. Rey (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 104–22 (104). Machiela, *ibid.*, follows Maurice Baillet (DJD III, 103) in identifying 3Q14 4 as an Aramaic skin fragment from Tobit, preserving a text of Tob 7:1–2. He considers it a seventh copy of Tobit. A reedition of 3Q14 4 and discussion of its character are offered in the Appendix.

(8) For an Aramaic original, see Fitzmyer, “Aramaic and Hebrew Fragments of Tobit,” 670; Matthew Morgenstern, “Language and Literature in the Second Temple Period,” *JJS* 48 (1997): 130–45 (139). For a Hebrew one see Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 2:173. Andrew Perrin accepts that the original of Tobit was authored in Aramaic and surmises that the translation into Hebrew “represents an attempt to graft Tobit into Israel’s scriptural inheritance.” Cf. Andrew R. Perrin, “From *lingua franca* to *lingua sacra*: The Scripturalization of Tobit in 4QTob,” *VT* 66 (2016): 117–32 (131). Hebrew was, no doubt, a language cherished by Jews during the Second Temple period and later, as attested by the four texts adduced by Perrin. But they do not support in any way his conjecture. See below.

(9) Cf. Steven E. Fassberg, “Hebraism in the Aramaic Documents from Qumran,” in *Studies in Qumran Aramaic*, *AbrNSup* 3 (Louvain: Peeters, 1992), 48–69; *idem.*, “Hebrew and Aramaic: Mutual Influence in Palestine,” *Or* 89 (2020): 5–21.

systematic manner was Klaus Beyer. In his first edition, he assembled sporadic quotations scattered in various articles by Józef Milik. (10) In subsequent editions, Beyer expanded the scope of his quotations and the selection of his sources. (11) While his readings and lexical and historical comments are of interest, the disadvantage of his editions is his combination of the Aramaic with the Hebrew to create an eclectic text. The first comprehensive and reliable edition of the Tobit materials from Qumran was authored by Joseph Fitzmyer in the DJD edition, published in 1995. (12) He relied on Milik's previous work and on the older PAM photographs. (13) Thirteen years later, Michaela Hallermayer published an edition of 4Q196–4Q200. (14) Built upon Fitzmyer's edition and the final photographs in the PAM series, she occasionally referred to the microfiche edition of the scrolls, which came out in 1993, as well as to other comments. (15) From the textual perspective, she made few new contributions. The main emphasis of her work was a comparison of the Qumran texts and the Greek and Old Latin versions. Elisha Qimron's edition, appeared in 2013 as part of his comprehensive edition of all the Hebrew manuscripts from Qumran, is important regarding the textual character of 4Q200. (16) His edition is a considerable improvement upon that of Fitzmyer. (17) Thus, a new edition that makes use of the new technically improved PAM photographs along with the

(10) Cf. Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 298–300; idem, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer: Ergänzungsband* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 134–47. His final edition came out in 2004. Cf. n. 8 above.

(11) Interestingly, Beyer arranged Tobit under the rubric of Targums, probably according to his belief that the original Tobit was composed in Hebrew and subsequently translated into Aramaic.

(12) See n. 7 above.

(13) Cf. idem, DJD XIX, 1. Apparently Fitzmyer did not use the earliest PAM photographs, since they are not listed in his DJD XIX edition: PAM 40.624 for frag. 2, PAM 40.602 and 41.665 for frag. 4, PAM 40.610 for frag. 6 and PAM 41.368 for frag. 7 bottom section. They are utilized in the edition below and at times help to improve readings.

(14) Cf. Michaela Hallermayer, *Text und Überlieferung des Buches Tobit*, DCLS 3 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008).

(15) Cf. *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche: A Comprehensive Facsimile Edition of the Texts from the Judean Desert*, ed. E. Tov with collaboration of S. J. Pfann (Leiden: Brill, 1993).

(16) See Elisha Qimron, "Sefer Tuvia (4Q200)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings, Volume Two* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press, 2013), 243–46 (Hebrew). In 2020, Qimron issued an online edition, combining all three volumes, which may be accessed at <https://zenodo.org/record/3737950#.XoXRs6gzaiM>, 243–46. In most details, it is identical to the paper edition. The small number of readings that differ are noted in their respective Notes on Readings.

(17) While preparing his two editions, Qimron had the advantage over previous editors of consulting the IAA's new photographs (personal communication).

new superior images is required for all the Tobit fragments. The present article seeks to fill this gap. The constraints of a single article will permit here the edition of a single copy, and the Hebrew one is selected, given its special character and problems. It will also provide an opportunity to assemble the sporadic comments published on this Hebrew copy, a comprehensive study of which is still lacking. (18)

#### 4Q200

4Q200 consists of nine fragments of small and medium size, seven of which preserve identifiable passages from Tobit. The color of the manuscript is dark brown, but the writing is clear on most of the fragments. The spaces between the lines vary between 1.1 cm and 9 mm. The height of the letters varies between 2–3 mm for the ordinary letters, while final ones extend to 4 mm (cf. the *nun* of נון in 1 ii 2 and the *šade* of שד in 5 2). The intercolumn margin size is 1–1.1 cm. Horizontal dry lines for guiding the copying of the letters, and vertical dry lines to mark the intercolumn margin are visible on frag. 7. The role of the spaces left in 2 3, 2 4, 6 1, 6 4, and 6 7 is of interest; perhaps they mark the conclusions and beginnings of new literary units. Written in an early Herodian formal hand, the manuscript is dated to 30 BCE to 20 CE. (19) However, as it contains several corrections (in 2 3; 4 4; 6 2, 6, 9), it probably was copied from an earlier Hebrew exemplar. (20) So the date of the Hebrew version of Tobit is apparently

(18) A full and systematic comparison of 4Q200 to the long and short Greek recensions is reserved for a different occasion. In his edition of 4Q200, Joseph Fitzmyer supplied short comments mainly on the Greek and Old Latin versions. Cf. idem, “4Q200. 4QTobit<sup>c</sup>,” DJD XIX, 63–76. He provided more detailed comments in his commentary on Tobit (cf. idem, *Tobit*, CEJL [Berlin: De Gruyter, 2003]). However, he left wide room for further research, as did Hallermayer, *Text und Überlieferung* and Bruna Velčić, “The Significance of the Relation of 4QTobit<sup>c</sup> fr. 6 with Greek Texts,” *Hen* 27 (2005): 149–62. A systematic study of the medieval Hebrew texts of Tobit has still to be undertaken, as noted by Maria Cioată, “Medieval Hebrew Tellings of Tobit: ‘Versions’ of the Book of Tobit or New Texts?” in *Is There a Text in This Cave? Studies in the Textuality of the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of George J. Brooke*, ed. A. Feldman, M. Cioată, and C. Hempel, STDJ 119 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 334–69. However, as observed by Fitzmyer, there is no connection between the Qumran and medieval texts, as the latter depend clearly on the later Greek or Latin traditions. Cf. idem, “Aramaic and Hebrew Fragments,” 668–69.

(19) See Fitzmyer, DJD XIX, 63.

(20) As noted by Hallermayer, *Text und Überlieferung*, 19 and by Daniel A. Machiela, “Hebrew, Aramaic, and the Differing Phenomena of Targum and Translation in the Second Temple Period and Post-Second Temple Period,” in *The Language Environment of First Century Judaea*, ed. R. Buth and R. S. Notley (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 209–46 (241 n. 116).

not identical to that of 4Q200. (21) If this Hebrew version of Tobit is translated from an Aramaic original, the composition of the original must be even earlier. Interestingly, the Aramaic copy of 4Q197 is dated to 25 BCE–25 CE (cf. DJD XIX, 41), rendering it contemporary with 4Q200. That means that an Aramaic version of Tobit was copied at the same time as a Hebrew one and apparently they were circulated concurrently. However, this does not assist us in determining the original language (see Discussion below).

As has been observed by students of 4Q200, the manuscript is formulated in the Hebrew of the Second Temple period, with locutions that were typical mainly of that time. (22) It employs many forms typical of the Qumranic scribal practice along with the traditional forms. (23) Thus, for instance, the tendency of 4Q200 to employ the long suffixes is notable, along with long personal pronouns: הוּאָה (6 5, 6), but twice הוּא (9 9), הִיאָה (6 5), אַתְמָה (6 8), הַמָּה (6 2). Several long pronominal suffixes are used as well, when attached to nouns: יְמִיכָה (2 3) and יִדְכָה (2 6), or to prepositions: מִמֶּכָּה (2 7; 4 5), לִכָּה (2 7), לַהֲמָה (4 1), בַּהֲמָה (6 8). However, short forms are also employed: עִמָּךְ (2 5), לָךְ (2 8), and the verbal suffix בַּעֲשִׂיתְךָ (2 9). (24) The orthography current at Qumran is clear for the following: לוֹא (1 ii 4; 2 7), לִקְרָת (5 1), וַיּוֹמֵר (4 6), תּוֹמֵהִים (6 2–3). (25) These forms suggest that the present manuscript was penned either in Qumranic circles or in a scribal school that followed the practices of many of the Qumran texts. The following is a fresh edition of the Hebrew copy of Tobit, 4Q200, with evaluation of and improvements on previous editions. (26) The edition has been established on the basis of new multi-spectral imaging, photographs and by examination of the fragments in the museum. (27)

(21) Against Perrin, who takes the date of the manuscript as indicative of the date of translation from Aramaic to Hebrew. However, he does not bring into consideration the corrections in 4Q200. Cf. Perrin, “From *lingua franca* to *lingua sacra*,” 124.

(22) Cf. Fitzmyer, “Aramaic and Hebrew Fragments,” 669; Armin Schmitt, “Die hebräischen Textfunde zum Buch Tobit aus Qumran 4QTob<sup>e</sup> (4Q200),” ZAW 113 (2001): 566–82 (575–78).

(23) Machiela, “The Hebrew of Tobit,” 120 believes that 4Q200 was actually “carried out at Qumran”.

(24) For Qumran usage, see the survey of Elisha Qimron, *Grammar of the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben Zvi, 2018), 265–66.

(25) Each case is noted and explained separately in the respective Comments.

(26) The following abbreviations are used for referring to previous editions: **B**: Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer*, 2:172–86; **F**: Fitzmyer in DJD XIX (see n. 7 above); **Q**: Qimron, “Sefer Tuvia (4Q200)”; **Qa**: Qimron, *Combined Edition*; **H**: Hallermayer, *Text und Überlieferung*; **GT**: Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, “4Q200 (4QTob<sup>e</sup>) 4QTobit<sup>e</sup>,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 1:394–98.

(27) I thank Pnina Shor, the outgoing Curator and Head of the Dead Sea Scrolls Projects at the Israel Antiquities Authority, and Orit Rosengarten, Assistant to the Director,

## FRAGMENT 1

The fragment preserves the ends of lines in a right-hand column, an intercolumnar margin, and the beginnings of lines in the following column. The passage preserved in the first column corresponds to Tobit's prayer and his request to die following the rejoinder of his wife. (28) Sarah's prayer appears in the second column. The fragment thus reflects the sequence known from the book of Tobit. Since the second column corresponds to Tob 3:10–11, the piece preserving a few words from the first column must come from a previous section in Tobit. F associated it with Tob 3:6, mainly because of the first-person style and word חרפות ("taunts") in line 3, which fits with the context in Tobit. However, the formulation of the passage differs from that of the Greek versions. 4Q197 1 3 למ[חזה מ]ן די has also been connected by F with Tob 3:6, but it does not correspond to the present 4Q200 1 i.

## Frag. 1 i: Tob 3:6

[	]	1
ו[ק]ח[ח]נִי לְעֶפֶר	]	2
אֲרָ לְחַיִּית כִּי חֲרָפוֹת	]	3
רַבָּה עָמִי אֲמֹר לְהַרְוִיחַ	]	4
לִי יִרְ[ ] יִרְ[ ] יִרְ[ ]	]	5

Mus. Inv. 848

PAM 41.368, 42.218, 43.183

IAA B-295993 (infrared)

IAA B-295410 (colored)

## Notes on Readings

2 ו[ק]ח[ח]נִי—A new reading. The lower section of the two last letters is clearly seen in the photographs and the fragment itself. Part of a vertical downward stroke creating a right angle with a bottom horizontal one suggests a *nun*, as proposed by Q in his notes. Touching the edge of the bottom stroke of the *nun* is the following vertical downward stroke, which fits with *yod* (thus also Q).

the Dead Sea Scrolls Project, for providing me with a set of the new high-quality IAA photographs, and the improved version of the older PAM photographs. My thanks are also due to the team of the Scrolls laboratory at the Israel Museum for hosting me on 18 October, 2017 and on 9 January, 2018, which enabled me to check the plates with the fragments.

(28) On the meaning and background of the exchange between Tobit and his wife, see Devorah Dimant, "The Wife of Job and the Wife of Tobit," in *From Enoch to Tobit: Collected Studies in Ancient Jewish Literature*, FAT 114 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 229–37. The chief protagonist of the Book of Tobit will be named Tobit in the present article, following the Qumran copies' version of the name טובי.

While **F** marked only three undecipherable traces, **Q** proposes two readings: the first one, וַאֲשֶׁן בְּהֶ, which he places in his text but states in his notes that “it fits better with the translation.” He introduces the second option, לְהַשִּׁיבֵנִי, in the notes, commenting that it “fits better with the surviving traces.” This second reading of the two visible letters does indeed fit better with the surviving traces and is retained above. Compare the execution of נִי in the word בְּנִי (2 3, 6). However, none of the previous editors have noticed the section of a vertical downward stroke just below the letters נִי, seen on the fragment and in all the photographs. It can only be the tail of a *qoph* (compare this letter in the word שָׁקַר of 2 5, and in מִבְּקֶשׁ of 4 4). An inspection of the actual fragment revealed the shrinking of the leather at this point, which must have caused the loss of a single letter, and the dislocation of the tail of the *qoph*, which appears now below the *nun*. (29) The reading proposed above takes into account these data. Cf. the Comment below.

לְעֶפֶר—A small tip of the *lamed*’s flag can still be seen in PAM 41.368 and IAA B-295993, as well as the bottom left edge of the slanted stroke of *ayin*.

רִי—Traces of the letter survived only in the earlier photographs PAM 41.368, 42.218 (the clearest ones), and 43.183. The letter is slightly twisted due to a slight dislocation of the right edge of the line. However, the upper horizontal roof of a *resh*, with its typical top left protruding tip, can still be recognized. Thus also **Q**.

רַבָּה—The upper tip of a letter is seen clearly under the *he* of רַבָּה in line 4.

לְיִי רֶשֶׁת—The *resh* of the second word is suggested by the upper horizontal stroke (see PAM 41.368). Only the upper tips of the preceding and following letters are preserved (thus already in the earliest photograph, 41.368), which cannot be read. The last surviving trace may be a *tau*, as suggested by the round upper edge of a stroke. The reading תַּסְתֵּר for the second word, proposed by **F**, **B**, and **Q**, influenced by **G**<sup>II</sup> and the Old Latin (cited by **F** in DJD XIX, 65), is not supported by the evidence.

### Translation

2	[	and ]t[ake] me [to the] dust
3	[	]... to live, for taunts
4	[	]much is mine. Give command to bring [me] relief
5	[	]. ....

### Comments

נִי—This is a new reading. The restoration takes into account the presence of a *qoph*. The restored form, a 2nd per. sg. *qal*

(29) The shrinking appears clearly in a recent photograph that illuminates the topography of the leather surface. It was made available to me by Shai Halevi of the Israel Antiquities Authority, for which I am grateful.

imperative of the verb לקח (“take”) with a 1st per. sg. object suffix, is consonant with another 1st per. suffix in the passage (cf. עמי in line 4). The reading and restoration proposed here also restore an underlying allusion to the curse upon Adam (Gen 3:19), which employs both the verb לקח and the noun עפר to formulate the penalty of mortality for Adam’s sin: כי ממנה לקחת כי עפר אתה ואל עפר תשוב (“...for out of it you were taken; you are dust and to dust you shall return”). Thus, Sarah’s wish for death is expressed in the terms of the primordial curse. Compare also the depiction of mortal human nature in Hodayot (1QH<sup>a</sup> XXIII, 24) כִּיָּא מֵעֶפֶר לִקְחָתִי (“for I was taken from dust”), based on the same biblical passage.

**3 חרפות**—This is a plural of the noun חרפה (“reviling, taunt; disgrace, shame,” *HALOT* 1:356; “reproach, taunt,” *DCH* 3:321–22). Note also the verbal form of the same root, חרפו, in the following column (1 ii 1). The plural חרפות occurs twice in Ps 69:10–11. In biblical parlance, the word is used in the context of “taunt” (Ps 44:14; 79:4; see 1QH X, 11–12). This is a recurring theme in the present passage of Tobit, for חרפות are uttered by Tobit’s wife (G<sup>II</sup> Tob 3:6) and by Sarah’s servants (G<sup>II</sup> Tob 3:7, 10). In the long Greek version (G<sup>II</sup>), the word ὀνειδισμός stands in both contexts. The modern translators of Tobit mostly rendered it with the term “reproaches,” (30) but Septuagint dictionaries offer the translations “disgrace, insult” (31) and “insulting utterances.” (32)

**4 להריוח**—Translated here as “[to] bring relief,” completed by the restored indirect object לי (“me”), (thus also **B**), following Morgenstern, “Language and Literature,” 138. **Q** proposes a similar meaning.

### Frag. 1 ii: Tob 3:10–11

[	וחרפו א]
[	היה לכה] [ומן]
[	עלי אין כשר לה] חנק
[	אשמע ולוא ישמע]
[	הח] לון ות[ת] חנק]

(30) Thus, e.g., Derek C. Simpson, “The Book of Tobit,” in *APOT* 1:208; Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 129, 147; Robert J. Littman, *Tobit: The Book of Tobit in Codex Sinaiticus*, Septuagint Commentary Series (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 9.

(31) Thus Johan Lust, Erik Eynikel, and Katrin Hauspie, *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, rev. ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003), 439, as rendered by Carey A. Moore, *Tobit*, AB 40A (New York: Doubleday, 1996), 137 (“insults”).

(32) Cf. Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Louvain: Peeters, 2009), 498.



Mus. Inv. 848

PAM 41.368, 42.218, 43.183

IAA B-295993 (infrared)

IAA B-295410 (colored)

### Notes on Readings

**1** וְחָרְפוֹ—All the previous editors read here יְחָרְפוֹ with the first letter as a *yod*. However, a close examination of the manuscript shows that the letter is written here with a pointed cap while the *yod* has usually a broader cap. The difference between the two letters is best seen in the word לְהַרְוִיחַ in 1 i 4. Even if the distinction between the two letters is not always that clear, there is no reason to prefer an imperfect verbal form with *yod* (יְחָרְפוֹ) as previous editions to a perfect form with *waw* consecutive, as selected above.

**2** הִיָּה—The first letter is clearly a *he* (as read by **B** and **Q** (33) rather than the *heth* of **F**. The *heth* differs considerably from this letter (compare the *heth* in וְחָרְפוֹ in the same column, line 10).

וּמִן—A reading וּמִן follows Dhont and Tigchelaar, “Notes on Reading,” 450. **Qa** has וּמִן, replacing the earlier **Q** וְאֵפֶּ. **F** read the surviving letters as בָּהֶ. The first trace of this second word is that of a vertical stroke. Given its close proximity to the following letter, it cannot belong to the previous word and therefore begins a new word. Thus the reading of a *waw* is plausible. The following trace is part of a right angular corner of a horizontal base stroke. The reading *mem* (compare the *mem* in the words אֲשַׁמַּע and יִשְׁמַע in line 4) is suggested by these traces. Of the third stroke, only a long thin downward tail is seen clearly on the fragment and in photographs PAM 41.368, IAA B-295993. It fits with the wavy tail of a final *nun* (compare this letter in the word אֵין just below, in 1 ii 3).

**3** לֵהָ—The *he* is still seen clearly in PAM 41.368.

**5** הַחֲלוֹן—The three letters are clear in IAA B-295993.

וְהָתְחִנָּה—The last three letters survived intact on the fragment as photographed in PAM 41.368.

### Translation

- |   |  |   |
|---|--|---|
| 1 | And they taunted m[e                     | ] |
| 2 | you have had[ ]and from[                 | ] |
| 3 | for me it is not proper to b[e strangled | ] |
| 4 | I will hear and not be heard/will hear[  | ] |
| 5 | [the w]indow and she [im]plored[         | ] |

### Comments

**1** וְחָרְפוֹ—The root חָרַף is repeated in this passage. Cf. חָרְפוֹת in 1 i 3 and the Comment.

(33) Thus also Marieke Dhont and Eibert Tigchelaar, “Notes on Reading of Three 4Q200 (4QTobit<sup>c</sup>) Fragments,” *RevQ* 26 (2014): 447–51 (449).



אָ—F and Q restore אָנת אבִי, following Tob 3:10 (G<sup>II</sup>). However, given the number of significant variants in the present Hebrew fragments, other possibilities should not be disregarded. Thus, for instance, the restoration אָנתי (“me”) as the direct object of the reproaches is also possible. Less plausible is H’s suggested restoration אָנבי (“my father”) as the object, since the phrase created lacks the required preceding את. The reading above follows previous editions as part of Sarah’s prayer, so all the 1st per. sg. suffixes relate to Sarah’s own speech while the 2nd per. sg. seems to refer to Sarah’s father in a quotation of the servants’ address, following Tob 3:9–10. So the 3rd per. pl. of חרפו refers to the servants.

2 לכה—The prepositional *lamed* stands here with the long 2nd. per. sg. pronominal suffix, as in 2 7, but the short form לך is used in 2 8 and 4 6. Several other long 2nd per. sg. pronominal suffixes appear in frag. 2, in an address to Tobiah, ממכה...לכה (2 7). However, the short forms are also used: עמך (2 5), בעש[ותך] (2 9). Long noun suffixes are also used: ימיכה (2 3), ידכה (2 6). See Qimron, *Grammar*, 265–66. For the predilection of Qumran manuscripts for long forms, see the survey of Steven Fassberg, “The Preference for Lengthened Forms in Qumran Hebrew,” *Meghillot* 1 (2003): 227–40 (Hebrew). See Introduction above.

אָנ[ותך]—Dhont and Tigchelaar, “Notes on Reading,” 450 support this reading also by the long (G<sup>II</sup>) Greek version.

3 כשר—In the sense of “proper, fit” (thus translated above) in late Hebrew (cf. Eshter 8:5; Sir 13:4; (34)) and in Qumran Aramaic. (35) Q notes that the use of this word with the infinitive is attested in Mishnaic Hebrew (cf. m. Shabbath 7:3), and in Palestinian Aramaic. (36)

לה[חנק]—The restoration is proposed by B and Q on the basis of Tob 3:10. Q cites 2 Sam 17:23 and Job 7:15 for using this verb to designate suicide. F restores לה[תלות] to express the same idea.

4 לוא—The full orthography of לוא with a *waw* to mark the sound *o* is typical of the Qumran orthography. See לוא in 2 7. Cf. Qimron, *Grammar*, 85.

(34) Noted by Armin Schmitt, “Die hebräischen Textfunde zum Buch Tobit aus Qumran 4QTob<sup>e</sup> (4Q200),” *ZAW* 113 (2001): 566–82 (576–77); Machiela, “The Hebrew of Tobit,” 114.

(35) Attested as a single word, תכשר, in two copies of the Aramaic Visions of Amram, 4Q543 2 9; 4Q546 7 3, as noted by Machiela, *ibid*.

(36) Cf. Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic*, 3rd ed. (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 2017), 292.

## FRAGMENT 2

The fragment is composed of three separate pieces, perhaps already combined by Milik. The top right frag. a, preserving most of lines 1–4, and frag. b of the lower right section, preserving lines 4–8, are still joined on the older PAM 41.368 and PAM 42.218, where the word מֵאֲמָרוֹ in line 4 appears intact on the adjoining edges of the two pieces. However, today these pieces are separate on Mus. Inv. 848 as they are in recent photographs. Frag. c, displaying the left section of lines 3–9, is detached in all the photographs and on the plate. The combination of all three pieces produce lines from Tobī's advice to his son before embarking on his journey to Media.

## Frag. 2: Tob 4:3–9

[	רָצוֹנָה וְאֵל תֵּעֲ	] 1
[	וְסוֹבֹל אוֹתָכָה בְּמַעֲיָה	] 2
[	vacat [ וְכֹל יִמְכָּה בְּיָ לֵאלֹהִים הִיא [זָכֹר ]	] 3
[	vacat [מֵאֲמָרוֹ אִמַּת הִיא] עוֹשָׂה [כָּל יָמֵי חַיֶּיכָה	] 4
[	הִיא שָׁקֵר כִּי בַעֲשִׂיתָ הָאִמַּת [יְהִי עִמָּךְ ]	] 5
[	כִּי אֵל שָׁקֵר יִדְבָּק בְּנֵי הִיא] עוֹשָׂה [צַדִּיקוֹת וְאֵל תֵּס] אֵת פְּנִיכָה	] 6
[	מִפְּנֵי עֲנִי אִם מִמָּכָה לֹא יֵס] תֵּר פְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים אִם יִהְיֶה לָכָה בְּנֵי רֹב	] 7
[	הִיא עוֹשָׂה מִמֶּנּוּ צַדִּיקוֹת] וְאֵם [יְהִי לָךְ מַעֲט כִמְעֻט]	] 8
[	כִּי בַעֲשִׂיתָ צַדִּיקָה שִׁימָה טוֹבָה ]	] 9

Mus. Inv. 848

PAM 40.624 (left bottom section c), 41.368, 42.218, 43.183

IAA B-295992 (infrared; top and right sections)

IAA B-295409 (colored; top and right sections)

IAA B-295991 (infrared; lower left section)

IAA B-298330 (colored; lower left section)

## Notes on Readings

1 רָצוֹנָה—A single very small dot at the lower part of the line may be a tear in the skin. This vestige probably served F for reading a *resh* at the beginning of the word.

אֵל—Of the first letter, two parallel spaced lower ends of vertical downward strokes may be seen on PAM 41.368, PAM 42.218, and later photographs, which may be read as *aleph*, *he*, or *het*. F selected the first option. The base tip of a letter and another one at the top, also seen on the same photographs, were deciphered by F as a *lamed*, creating a plausible reading אֵל. Q includes this word in his restored text but does not take into account the presence of the actual letter traces.

תַּעַן—A trace of a slanted downward stroke in the middle of the line may be seen in PAM 31.368, 42.218. It is typical of only an *ayin*, as indeed read by Q, but not by other editors.

2 וַסְבוֹל—Other editors also read *waw* at the beginning of the word (B, F, H, Q) but a *yod* is also possible paleographically. The *waw* is preferable on the assumption that it is an infinitive absolute aligned to a preceding *Qatal* verb.

3–4 vac—vac—The spaces left at the beginning and middle of the section are clear in the photographs and on the fragment, as marked by F.

3 בְּנִי—The word has been added above the word יְמִיכָה. Syntactically, it should have followed this word.

זָכָר—Thus also Q. The base traces of these letters are preserved on the left piece c (clearly seen in PAM 40.624). No letters that link frags. a and c have survived and therefore the positioning of the two pieces as adjoining is based on the similar shape and context of the parallel text in Tob 4:5–9. The first visible trace preserves the wavy edge of a horizontal base stroke that fits with a *kaph* (compare the same letter in the word כִּי in 1 2). This edge touches the bottom tip of the vertical downward stroke of the following letter, probably a *waw*, the third trace being that of another bottom trace of a vertical downward stroke, apparently a *resh*. F has זָכָר followed by GT. See Comments.

4 מֵאֲמָרוֹ—The traces of this word are preserved on the upper right frag. a and the lower right frag. b, especially the *aleph* and the second *mem*, thus assuring the join of the two.

זָכָר—The lower right edge of a horizontal stroke, touching the following vertical downward stroke of the following line (a situation similar to that of זָכָר in the previous line), is clearly visible in PAM 40.624, where a good part of the downward stroke of the *waw* is preserved. This word is preserved in the left-hand frag. c without physical link to the lower right frag. b, so also the restoration [עוֹשֶׂה] offered by F and Q, followed here, is conjectural.

הָיִיכָה—The small right tip of a letter at the upper part of the line is observed in the photographs, and is especially clear in IAA B-295991 and IAA B-298330, suggesting the protruding stub of the horizontal top stroke of a *heth* (compare the *heth* in תַּחֲתִיָּה in 6 6 and נִדְחִים in 6 8). Reading this letter also supplies better sense as it permits the restoration adopted above הָיִיכָה, following F, B, and Q. It fits with the context and expresses an idea parallel to the preceding line 3 (כֹּל יְמִיכָה). However, also the short form הַיִּיךְ may be restored, given the short form עֵמֶךְ in the following line.

5 הֵ—A small upper tip of the head of a letter is seen in the photographs, and is especially clear in PAM 42.218. A piece of the top horizontal stroke has also been preserved, as well as a small section of the connected vertical stroke. This configuration may fit with *he* or *heth*, but not with a *yod*, as read by F, for the tip lacks the cap typical of this letter. Therefore, it is read as a *he*, as it is by Q, although it lacks the usual wavy contour of the left edge of the top horizontal stroke of a *he*. However, see the final *he* in הִיָּה (line 6), which is similar to the traces here.

**בעשית**—With **Q** who reads **הַאֵמֶת** **בְּעִשִּׁית** as a construct expression of the object, adopted here mainly due to the reading of *he* as the following letter. (37) However, if the letter before the lacuna is read with **B** as *aleph*, the reading **מֵת בְּעִשִּׁית אֵמֶת** also may be possible. See the following Note.

**הֵ**—The bottom sections of two parallel vertical downward strokes have survived and are read above as the bottom sections of two legs of a *he* (with **F** and **Q**). **B** read them as the legs of an *aleph*. (38)

**וַאֵם**—The *waw* is partly preserved in PAM 40.624 but not in other photographs and perhaps this is why it was not read by previous editors. **Q** restores it. It shows that the phrase was syntactically connected to the previous one. Therefore, the *vacat* restored by **F** before this word (read as **אֵם**) is questionable.

**בְּעִשִּׁית וְהֵךְ**—The heads of the three last letters have been partly preserved, best seen in PAM 40.624. Similarly read and restored by **F** and **Q**.

### Translation

- |     |   |       |
|-----|---|-------|
| 1 [ | her ]wish [and] do not ..[  | ]     |
| 2 [ | ]and bore you in [her] womb[  | ]     |
| 3 [ | ] <i>vacat</i> And all your days, my son, rememb[er] God[                           | ]     |
| 4 [ | ] his command. <i>vacat</i> [practice] truthfulness all the days of [your] l[ife]   | ]     |
| 5 [ | ] falsehood for in practicing the[ truth w]ill be with you[                         | ]     |
| 6 [ | ]As the measure to your ability (39), my son, be[ giving ]alms and do not hi[de     | ]     |
|     | your face   | ]     |
| 7 [ | from the po]r. Then [Go]d will not hi[de his face] from you. If you have, [my] son[ | much] |
| 8 [ | giv]e al[m]s from it[ ]and if you have a little, according to the little[ ]         | ]     |
| 9 [ | for in ]your[ givi]ng alms a good treasure [ ]                                      | ]     |

### Comments

**1 תַּעֲצֵב**—**Q** restores **עֲצֵב** to fit with his fuller restoration for the line, probably following the Greek of Tob 4:3 (G<sup>I</sup>, G<sup>II</sup>) λυπήσῃς (“grieve”).

**2 וְסִבֹּל**—Joseph Fitzmyer suggests that this is an infinitive absolute that is probably connected to a previous finite verb not preserved. If so, it thus constitutes another case of the infinitive absolute predicate (see Comment on **וַאֲמֹר** in 4 3). Cf. idem, “The Aramaic and Hebrew Fragments,” 669, n. 51.

(37) Cf. Elisha Qimron, “Improvements to the Editions of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *ErIsr* 26 (1999): 142–46 (144) (Hebrew).

(38) **H**, 142, n. 808 notes the two possibilities but neither offers her own reading nor marks the presence of letter traces.

(39) Literally: “as the length of your hand.” See Comment.

במעִיָּה—The restoration of a 3rd per. fem. pronominal suffix usually supplied here, and in line 1, [רִצֹּנָה] is intended to match the context referring to Tobit's mother in Tob 4:3–4 (thus **B**, **F**, **Q**).

[רִצֹּנָה]—**B** and **Q** did not read the first letter but restored it as *resh* and thus it is retained above. Both apparently aimed at a version close to G<sup>II</sup> “and do that which is pleasing before her” (καὶ ποίει τὸ ἀρεσδὸν ἐνὸς πρὸς αὐτῆς).

הִיָּה זִכְרוֹ **Q**—Notes that this unusual combination occurs in later midrashim. He observes that it fits with the Aramaic expression הוי דכיר and cites Onq. ad Exod 20:8.

אמת היה [עושה]—The restoration [עושה] follows the similar expression in the following line 5, בעשית הָאמת. Note the frequent use of the root עשׂה in the passage.

שָׁקַר—Perhaps 4Q196 9 3 ] שָׁקַר [ reproduces the same passage (thus **F** in DJD XIX, 16, 66).

6–7—The restorations above retain some of **Q**'s, since they create the double meaning of hiding face (הסתר פנים).

יִדְךָ בְּרִי הוּא עֹבֵד [בד 10 1 4Q196]—Compare 4Q196 10 1 [בד 10 1 4Q196]. The *kaph* of כֹּאֲרֵךְ expresses here the idea of measure (so translated). Cf. HALOT 2:545. I owe this comment to Elisha Qimron (personal communication).

[עושה] צדקות—The restoration (thus also **Q**) takes up the locution of line 9 בעשִׁית צדקה 9. The same expression is used at the beginning of line 8. The context of material help to the destitute (note line 7 [עֲנִי]), elaborated in lines 6–9, conveys the meaning of “alms” to the words צדקה/צדקות. This is one of the earliest instances of צדקה used in the sense of “almsgiving”. (40)

מִמֶּכָּה...לכה 7—Prepositions with long pronominal suffixes, current in this manuscript (cf. 4 5; 6 8) and common in Qumran documents. See the introduction to 4Q200.

שימה 9—The word, to be read with *sin* שימה, is a noun, meaning “treasure.” (41) It occurs also in Ben Sira, written there with *samek* (40:18; 41:14 [B]) and once with *sin* (41:14 [M]). In its Aramaic parallel, it is usually written with *samek* as in the *Aramaic Levi Document*

(40) The same word is used with the same meaning in the Qumran text 4Q424 3 9. Compare the Aramaic צדקה in this sense in the contemporary Dan 4:24. Cf. Gary A. Anderson, “Redeem Your Sins by the Giving of Alms: Sin, Debt, and the ‘Treasury of Merit’ in Early Jewish and Christian Traditions,” *Letter & Spirit* 3 (2007): 39–69 (47 n. 28); Francesco Zanella, “Between ‘Righteousness’ and ‘Alms’: A Semantic Study of the Lexeme צדקה in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Hebrew in the Second Temple Period: The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and of Other Contemporary Sources*, ed. S. Fassberg, M. Bar-Asher, and R. Clements, STDJ 108 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 269–87 (270–72).

(41) Cf. Morgenstern, “Language and Literature,” 138.

(4Q213 1 i 20; 1–2 ii 3). (42) It is attested in this orthography in other dialects of Palestinian Aramaic. (43)

### FRAGMENT 3

The fragment comes from the right side of a column as the right intercolumnar margin is preserved.

#### Frag. 3: Tob 5:2

[	]ִּוּוּ שִׁרְ[א]	1
[	]וּהוּא אִיִּן	2
[	]וּהָאִמִּין	3
	]לִלְכֹת	4

Mus. Inv. 850

PAM 41.368, 42.218, 43.184

IAA B-366093 (infrared)

IAA B-366092 (colored)

#### Notes on Readings

1 ]ִּוּוּ שִׁרְ[א]—Perhaps the first trace belongs to the lower pointed edge of a *shin*, with some of its right branching arm. The following tip seems to be the bottom of the vertical stroke of a *resh*. The second group of undecipherable traces was not marked by previous editors. The traces are seen clearly in IAA B-366093.

#### Translation

1	[w]hich	[	]
2	and he does not	[	]
3	and believe	[	]
4	to go	[	]

(42) The Aramaic parallel in the Genizah version has סִימָא (Cambridge f, line 17). Cf. Émile Puech, “Le Testament de Lévi de la Geniza du Caire,” *RevQ* 20 (2002): 511–56 (545). Cf. Edward M. Cook, *Dictionary of Qumran Aramaic* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2015), 248.

(43) See Michael E. Stone and Jonas C. Greenfield, “Aramaic Levi Document,” in *Qumran Cave 4: XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3*, DJD XXII (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 15; Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period*, 3rd ed. (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 2017), 419.

## FRAGMENT 4

This fragment is one of the largest surviving from the manuscript, holding as it does seven almost intact lines and some traces of the eighth line. It is composed of three pieces, the top one preserving lines 1–4 and the right section of lines 5–6 (still seen detached in PAM 41.665), the bottom one preserving the left section of lines 5–7 (still seen detached in PAM 40.602 and 41.368), and the third piece holding the right bottom corner of lines 6–7 (attached to the other fragments in PAM 42.218 and 43.184). The final combination is presented in PAM 42.218 and 43.184, and reproduced in the IAA photographs. One join was made on the basis of the *lamed* (in אשלח, line 7), which is partly preserved on the piece attached to the bottom left section, while its upper flag is seen on the left section itself (cf. PAM 41.368). The other join connects the same small piece to the top left part through another *lamed* (of לך, line 6), which is fully formed when the two pieces are connected. **F** states as follows: “Three joined fragments form the beginnings of eight lines of a column” (DJD XIX, 68), but he does not offer evidence for the assertion that the beginnings have survived. He concludes it from the smoothness of the text created, completed on the basis of the Greek and Latin versions. So, in lines 2, 3, 6, and 7, his DJD edition presents them as if the wording stands at the beginning of the lines, thus suggesting that a margin is visible in the manuscript. None of the right and left margins have actually survived, as one is led to believe by the printed editions of **F** and **Q**. Therefore, the restoration of the lines as proposed by **F**, and essentially followed by **Q**, should be treated with caution. Notwithstanding, the restorations offered by both are followed below in order to provide sense to the text. In fact, the tear in the leather in these lines touches the last visible letters. Consequently, the length of lines 4–7 is decided by the context, showing that no additional restored words beyond those visible are required. However, the restorations in lines 1 and 2 leave room for another word or two in each line.

## Frag. 4: Tob 10:8–9

- |   |   |  |                             |   |
|---|---|--|-----------------------------|---|
| [ | וּכְאֶשֶׁר]   | שְׁלַמּוֹ לְהִמָּה אַרְבַּע[ה]                       | עֶשֶׂר יָמֵי [הַמַּשְׁתָּה] | 1 |
| [ | אֶשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּע רְעוּאֵל לַעֲשׂוֹת לְשֵׁרָה בְּתוּ בִּא [אֶלָּו]             |  |                             | 2 |
| [ | טוֹב]   | וְאָמַר לוֹ שְׁלַחֲנִי כִּכְרִי אֲנִי יוֹדַע אֶשֶׁר] | אֲבִי אֵינְנִי]             | 3 |
| [ | מֵאֲמִין וְ]  | אֲמִי אֵינְנָה מֵאֲמֶנֶת אֶשֶׁר תִּרְאֶנִּי]         | עוֹד וְעֵתָה מִבְּקֶשְׁךָ]  | 4 |
| [ | אֲנִי מִמֶּכָּה אֲבִי אֶשֶׁר תִּשְׁלַחֲנִי וְהִלַּכְתִּי אֶל אֲבִי. כִּכְרִי] |  |                             | 5 |
| [ | סִפְרָתִי לְךָ אֲכַכֶּה עֲזֻבֹתַי וְיוֹמֵר רְעוּאֵל לְטוֹבִיָּה בְּנִי]       |  |                             | 6 |
| [ | חָךְ אֲתִי וְאֲנִי אֶשְׁלַח מִלֵּאכִים אֶל טוֹבִי אֲבִי]                      | כִּי הֵן וְהָ[מָה]                                   |                             | 7 |
| [ | לְ]   |  |                             | 8 |

Mus. Inv. 850

PAM 40.602 and 41.368 (bottom left section),

41.665 (top right section), 42.218, 43.184

IAA B-366089 (infrared)

IAA B-366088 (colored)

### *Notes on Readings*

1 ארבע[ה]—As is the construct form of this expression in Biblical Hebrew (e.g., Gen 41:22; Num 29:13) and not ארבע[ת] of **F**.

2 שר[א]—**F** and **Q** read אֲשֶׁר but nothing has survived of the first letter neither is it seen in the photographs, even in the earliest PAM 41.665.

3 טו[ב]יה—Thus **F** and **Q**. A section of the upper left stroke of the *teth*, a section of the top part of the *waw*, and the tip of a pointed head of a *yod*, may be seen in photographs PAM 43.184 and IAA B-366088.

4 תראנ[י]—The word is found at the edge of the top right piece and is clear in PAM 41.665. The *yod* has not been preserved.

מבקש—The word is added above ועתה.

5 ממ[כ]ה—The lower end of the horizontal stroke of the *kaph* is seen in the photographs (see especially PAM 41.665 and IAA B-366089).

והלכת—The initial *waw* is partly preserved in the bottom left section (observed in PAM 40.602). Traces of heads of the *waw* and the right downward stroke of the *he* (clearly seen in IAA B-366089) are preserved on the top right piece, securing the join of the top and bottom pieces.

6 ספרתי—The initial *samek* is clear in PAM 41.368.

אככה—The word is split between two pieces and most of the traces are preserved at the bottom of the top right piece. A similar reading is proposed by both **F** (א[י]ככה) and **Q** (א[י]ככה) but **Q** admits in a note that אככה is also possible. An inspection of the fragment confirms that the space is sufficient for four rather than five letters. Accordingly, the short form is adopted here.

7 אב[י]ה—Only the top left edge of the last letter has survived (already in PAM 40.602), and is read as *he* by **F** and **Q** and followed here. Compare 6 3.

וה[מה]—The roof of the *he* is preserved in PAM 40.602.

8 ל[ ]—The tip of a single *lamed* is seen clearly in PAM 40.602 and on the fragment (thus also **Q**). There is no trace of the second *lamed* read by **F**.

### *Translation*

- 1 [and when] the fou[r]teen days of the [wedding feast] were over for them[ ],
- 2 [wh]ich Raguel had sworn to make for Sarah, his daughter, To[b]iah came [to him]
- 3 and said to him: “Send me off: I know already that [my father does not]
- 4 [believe and] also my mother does not believe that she will see m[e] again. <sup>Now</sup> [I] beg
- 5 yo[u], my father, that you send me off so that I may go to my father. I have already[ ]
- 6 told you how I have left them behind.” And Raguel said to Tobiah: “My son,
- 7 wait with me and I shall send messengers to Tobi you[r f]ather, and th[ey]...”



### Comments

**1** שלמו להמה...ימי—For the use of the verb שלם in relation to time, compare Isa 60:20 שלמו ימי אבלך; 4Q385a 1 ii 5 וישלמו ימיו. Morgenstern, “Language and Literature,” 138 observes that the use of the verb here with the preposition *lamed* and the personal pronoun is unique. He compares it to 1QGenesis Apocryphon VI, 9–10. He further notes that the syntax here, namely the apodosis of the temporal clause being introduced by a simple perfect and not by a *waw*-conversive verb, is very unusual in Hebrew but is common in Aramaic.

להמה—This is a long pronominal suffix attached to the prepositional *lamed*. For the use of such suffixes in the Qumran texts, see Qimron, *Grammar*, 261–62.

[המשתה]—As proposed by Zipora and David Talshir (44) (and Q). They noted that the preceding extant word ימי suggests the locution ימי המשתה. This expression is a good equivalent for the specific Greek (G<sup>II</sup>) word for the wedding occasion, γάμος (“wedding feast”), and is indeed employed by Judg 14:12 for wedding festivities. So it is to be preferred to F’s restoration [החתנה], based on the *hapax* חתנתו (Songs 3:11).

**3** ואמור—This is a predicative infinitive absolute of the verb אמר that aligns with a *Qatal* verb (בא in the preceding line), a construction found in the early works of the Hebrew Bible but is typical of Second Temple Hebrew (e.g., Esth 3:13; 9:16–18; Dan 9:5). (45) The construction is also recorded in Ben Sira (46) and at Qumran (4QMMT: 4Q398 14–17 ii 2 [47]). It is particularly frequent in the present manuscript; see וסבול (2 2), ונפוך (5 2), וכתוב (6 4, aligned with a *Qatal* verb דבר). (48)

(44) Cf. Zipora and David Talshir, “The Apocryphal Books—Retroversion or Translation?” (With illustrations from the Book of Tobit and from the Testament of Naphtali), in *Homage to Shmuel: Studies in the World of the Bible*, ed. Z. Talshir, S. Yona, and D. Sivan (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2001), 216–33 (225) (Hebrew).

(45) See the survey of its use in Late Biblical Hebrew by Ohad Cohen, *The Verbal Tense System in Late Biblical Hebrew Prose*, HSS 63 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2013), 253–72.

(46) See the examples discussed by Mark S. Smith, “The Infinitive Absolute as Predicative Verb in Ben Sira and the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Preliminary Survey,” in *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira*, ed. T. Muraoka and J. F. Elwolde, STDJ 36 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 256–67.

(47) Cf. Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miḡsat Ma’ašē ha-Torah*, DJD X (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 37, 81.

(48) See the comments of Fitzmyer, “Aramaic and Hebrew Fragments,” 670; Morgenstern, “Language and Literature,” 139–40. For a general survey of the use of this construction in Second Temple Hebrew, see Jean Carmignac, “L’infinitif absolu

**כבר אני יודע**—Morgenstern, “Language and Literature,” 139 notes that here again the structure of **כבר** with a participle is unusual in Hebrew but common in Aramaic. Zipora and David Talshir, “The Apocryphal Books,” 226 suggested that the word **כבר** is used here for emphasis.

**ועתה**—The addition of this word is one of a number of corrections and additions made in this manuscript. See Introduction.

**5 ממ[כָה]**—Thus with **Q**, restoring a lengthened form, which better accommodates the restored space and the late usage (cf. Dan 1:20 **אשר בקש מהם המלך**) and the lengthened forms in the present manuscript. **F** suggests a slightly longer restoration **אות[כָה]**. For the lengthened forms, see the Comment on **לכה** in 1 ii 2.

**6 ויומר**—This spelling (for **ויאמר**) is common in Qumran texts where the *aleph* becomes quiescent in verbs beginning with this letter. Cf. Qimron, *Grammar*, 195.

**7 חך**—An apocopated imperative of the verb **חכה** (“wait”). Cf. Qimron, *Grammar*, 235, n. 234. On apocopation in Second Temple Hebrew, see *ibid.*

#### FRAGMENT 5

The fragment is a round shrunken piece that is blackened at the edges. It is best seen in the infrared photographs.

#### Frag. 5: Tob 11:10–14

[	ל[קרת בנו עד הָ]	] 1
[	מר[ורת הדג בידו ונפּוֹץ ]	] 2
[	ויומר [לו אל תירא אבי ]	] 3
[	ע[ל עיניו והדּוֹק ]	] 4
[	ת[עניו וירא את] בנו	] 5
[	וּבְנִי]	] 6

Mus. Inv. 850

PAM 41.368, 42.218, 43.184

IAA B-366091 (infrared)

IAA B-366090 (colored)

chez Ben Sira et à Qumrân,” *RevQ* 12 (1986): 251–61; Elisha Qimron, “Observations on the History of Early Hebrew (1000 BCE–200 CE) in Light of the Dead Sea Documents,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research*, ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport, STDJ 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 349–61 (358–59); Smith, “The Infinitive Absolute as Predicative Verb.”

*Notes of Readings*

1 הָ—Traces of the right leg of the *he* is seen on IAA B-366091 (with Q).

2 ] וּנְפוֹץ—Q has צ but the final ץ has to be retained with F since the down stroke tail of the letter is quite long (4 mm as in other final letters), and descends quite a bit below the regular base line. Elsewhere, middle *šade* aligns with the base line. See יַפְצָה in 6 7. Cf. Note on Readings on 8 1.

4 עָ—Only a tip of a letter is seen in the photographs.

וּהָדוּק—With Q. F reads וְהָרוּק (as do B, H, and GT). However, the second letter lacks the top stub of the vertical downward stroke typical of the *ḥeth* (compare the letter in שְׁלַחְנִי [5 3] and in תְּשַׁלַּחְנִי [5 5]), whereas it has a slightly wavy horizontal roof typical of the *he* (compare the *he* in אֵינְנָה [5 4] and in לְטוֹבִיָּה [4 6]). Also the third letter fits better with a *daleth*, showing two stubs at the edges of the roof of the letter, characteristic of a *daleth* (compare this letter in הָדַג in line 2), rather than the wavy top stroke typical of a *resh* (compare this letter in תִּירָא in line 3). Cf. Comments.

תָּ—Thus also F and Q. The left part of the *tau* is seen particularly well in PAM 41.368 and 42.218.

*Translation*

1 [	]	towards his son until [	]
2 [	g]	all of the fish at his hand, and he scattered [	]
3 [	and he said ]	to him: “Do not be afraid, my father, [	]
4 [	o]	n his eyes and the film [	]
5 [	]	his eyes. And he saw [his son	]
6 [	]	my son [	]

*Comments*

1 לְקִרְאָת—This orthography (for לְקִרְאָת) reflects the dropping of the radical *aleph* when it is in medial position. The same orthography appears also in 4Q481a 2 4. Cf. Qimron, *Grammar*, 81.

הָ—Q restores וְהָשַׁעַר, but in Qa it is replaced by הָפֶתַח. Both options are based on the Greek translations (G<sup>I</sup>, G<sup>II</sup>).

2 וּנְפוֹץ—The form is to be parsed as the *niphal* of נָפַץ. However, in this construction, the forms of the 3rd per. sg. masc. of *Qatal* and the infinitive absolute are identical. F is correct in stating that it must be the latter since an active rather than a *niphal* final verb is required by the context (cf. DJD XIX, 70). So it constitutes another case of a predicative infinitive absolute. It must have aligned to a preceding finite verb not preserved. See Comments on וְאָמַר in 4 3.

4 וְהָדוּק—Q explains it as the definite form of the noun דוֹק in the sense of film in the eye (cf., e.g., *m. Bekhorot* 6:2) with *waw* consecutive (thus translated).

## FRAGMENT 6

The fragment, one of the largest of this manuscript, preserves most of nine lines, a few traces of the tenth line of the column, and the top margin. Sections of the leather have peeled off at the beginning and end of the lines. It partly overlaps with 4Q196 17 i 3–5, which covers a similar section. However, since only the edges of the lines have survived in that Aramaic manuscript, there are only a few actual correspondences between the two as noted in the Comments. In lines 5–9, the fragment holds part of Tobit's hymn of praise upon realizing the true nature of the angel Raphael. Given the literary genre of this passage, it borrows locutions from parallel biblical psalmodic praise.

## Frag. 6: Tob 12:20–13:4

<i>top margin</i>		
[	vac	] 1
[	א[ן]תו והיו המה תומהים מברכים ו[	] 2
[	מע]שו הגדול ותומהים איככ[ה] נראה[	] 3
[	vac] בכך דבר טובי וכתוב תהלה בתשובות ה[	] 4
[	ח[י אשר לכול העולמים היאה מלכותו אשר הוא[	] 5
[	והוא[ה מרחם מוריד עד שאול(ה) תחתיה והואה מעלה מתהו[ם	] 6
[	וממ[צולה ומה אשר יפצה מידו vac הודו לו בני ישראל אל	] 7
[	לעיני הגויים אשר אתמה נדחים בהמה ושמה ספר[ן	] 8
[	כו[ל חי כיא הוא אד'ניכ[מה ] והוא אלה[יכמה	] 9
[	ל[ ]ל[	] 10

Mus. Inv. 850

PAM 40.610, 41.368, 42.324, 43.184

IAA B-366081 (infrared)

IAA B-366080 (colored)

## Notes on Readings

**1** vac והעלהו—A large *vacat* is left following this word. Two smaller *vacats* are seen in lines 4 and 7. See Comments.

**2** א[ן]תו—Of the initial *aleph*, only the slightly slanted section of the right leg has survived.

**תומהים**—The word is fully inscribed but crossed out. While copying, the scribe's eyes must have jumped to the following line where the word occurs in its proper place. (49) Having realized his error, the scribe erased it. (50)

(49) In the DJD XIX edition (p. 70), Fitzmyer gives the erased word as **תומהים**. The initial *waw* was added in the printed edition perhaps due to a typographic error, for it does not appear in the manuscript. This *waw* does figure in the same word copied in its proper place in line 3. **H** and **Q** produce the correct text.

(50) A similar method of erasure was employed, for instance, by the scribe of the Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa<sup>a</sup> XLIX, 17), of 4Q462 1 19 and of 4Q533 3 2. See the

ן—The bottom tip of the *waw* is seen in PAM 40.610 and 42.324.

3 אִיכַכְּ [ה]—Only the upper right corner of the last letter has survived, consisting of part of the top slightly wavy roof and the top section of the right vertical stroke. The absence of the top right stub, a projection above the roof of the vertical leg, an element typical of a *he*, suggests that the partly preserved letter is not a *he* but a second *kaph* (with Q).

4 בַּכְּ va[c]—F notes that there may have been a *vacat* before this word. Indeed, the space separating the *beth* and the tear in the skin is larger than the normal space between words. Compare a similar *vacat* in line 7 and the larger one in line 1.

ה—PAM 40.610 preserves a bit more of the edge where two bottom sections of two legs may be seen, which fit those of a *he* (or an *aleph*?). The two traces were read by F (followed by Q) as מוֹרֵא.

5 הִי—The initial *heth* is read by all previous editors, interpreting the edges of a left vertical stroke that survived.

6 הֵהוא—Of the final *he*, only the bottom of a downward slightly curved left stroke has survived; it is clear in PAM 40.610.

ה)שאוּל—The *he* is inscribed and erased.

7 וּמִמֶּנִּי צִלָּה—The reading is that of Q, adopted above. Q probably reads it in light of the close association of תְּהוֹם with מִצִּלָּה in Jonah 2:4. See the Comment. F proposes [ג]דִּילָה [ה]. In any case, the surviving small upper tips of first two letters may be read in more than one way.

מִידוֹ vac הוֹדוּ—A small empty space of some three letters has been left between the two words, registered only by Q. It probably marks a new pericope, indicated by the new subject and the change of style to 2nd per. pl. address occurring here. Compare a possible space left at the beginning of line 4. Cf. the Comment below.

8 סִפְרֵיךְ—Only the bottom section of the downward vertical stroke of the *resh* is extant; it is seen clearly in PAM 40.610. The restoration of a *waw* in the lacuna, offered by previous editors, is proposed to match the 2nd. per. pl. address in these lines.

10 לָלֵךְ לָלֵךְ—The upper tips of two *lameds* are seen clearly in the new photographs IAA B-366081 and IAA B-366080. The two tips are separated by a space of slightly more than one letter; therefore, they stood at the end and the beginning of two adjacent words. None of them is noted by Q or Qa, while F and H took into account only the tip of the second *lamed*, which is the only one seen on the older photographs.

### Translation (51)

1	[		]this event.” And he ascended. (52) vac	[		]
2	[	] <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td>]</td>				]
3	[	] <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td>]</td>				]

comments of Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, STDJ 54 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 223.

(51) The translation is partly that of GT.

(52) The translation of the word וְהַעֲלֶהוּ renders it in the sense of the *qal* (thus Fitzmyer, DJD XIX, 71). See Comments.

- 4 [            ] *vac* Thus spoke Tobī and wrote a hymn with praise and [            ]  
 5 [            ] living whose kingship is for all ages, who[            ]  
 6 [ and h]e is the one who has pity, he brings down to the deepest Sheol, and he brings  
 up from the abys[s]  
 7 [ and from the d]e[pt]h, and what can be saved from his hand? *vac* Give him thanks,  
 children of Isra[el]            ]  
 8 [in the sight of the nations] amongst whom you are scattered, and there tel[l            ]  
 9 [            al] the living, for he is y[our] Lord and he is [your] God[            ]

### Comments

**1** *vac* והעלה—The verb is a sg. 3rd per. *hiphil* of עלה with a 3rd per. pronominal suffix. It seems to break the preceding 2nd per. pl. address style (see the Greek translations) and so must revert to 3rd per. narrative, which is continued in the following lines. Thus, the *waw* prefixed to the word is a *waw* conjunctive rather than conversive. Since the preceding address is pronounced by the angel Raphael (see G<sup>I</sup>, G<sup>II</sup>), the verb in the singular must refer to this speaker, namely the angel, noting his ascension. The *hiphil* form describing this action conveys a *qal* sense, a usage well known in the Qumran texts and other contemporary texts. (53) The pronominal suffix may indicate a reflexive meaning. (54) The verb in the 3rd per. corresponds to G<sup>II</sup> Tob 13:21. Note the *vacat* following this word, one of three in this fragment. Qimron noted (personal communication) that והעלה could be also parsed as a true 3rd pers. perfect *hiphil*, God being the subject (“he brought him up”).

**2** והי...מברכים—A case of the periphrastic tense, namely היה with participle. This formation is frequent in Late and Mishnaic Hebrew. Cf. Qimron, *Grammar*, 376–77.

והי—Parallels והו in 4Q196 17 i 4. F’s restoration in 4Q196, והו [מברכין], follows the Hebrew formulation here.

המה—A long personal pronoun typical of the Qumran documents. Cf. Comments on lines 5–6 below.

תומהים—The word is crossed out by the scribe. This is one of the three corrections in this fragment and others elsewhere in the manuscript. They indicate that the scribe was copying from an earlier exemplar.

(53) For *hiphil* forms having the *qal* sense in the Qumran documents, see Qimron, *Grammar*, 243–45.

(54) Thus Fitzmyer in DJD XIX, 71, citing A. Abironin, “Comments,” *Leš* 1 (1928–1929): 206–10 (207–08) (Hebrew). In his article, Abironin brought up *Exod Rabbah* 5, 14; 8, 2, which record a similar reflexive usage. Consequently, Velčić proposes the translation “and then he raised himself.” See Velčić, “The Significance of the Relation of 4QTobit ft. 6 with Greek Texts,” 151. On a reflexive-like use of *hiphil* in Qumran texts see Qimron, *Grammar*, 244–45, n. 253. On the movement in later Hebrew from the *qal* conjugation to the *piel* and *hiphil* see Eduard Yechezkel Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>)*, STDJ 6 (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 358–65.

3 מע[שו]—“His d]eed[.” The form is a sg. of the noun מעשה, with the 3rd per. sg. pronominal suffix. Such orthography (for מעשהו) is current in similar cases in the Qumran scrolls. See Qimron, *Grammar*, 72–73.

ותומהים—The form, written erroneously and erased in the previous line, appears in its proper place here. It is a plural masculine participle of תמה with *waw* consecutive. The orthography represents the change of the *qatel* participle into a *qōtel* one, frequent in Qumran texts. See Qimron, *Grammar*, 189.

איכנ[ה]—For this form see 4Q388 7 5; Sir 10:31.

4 תשובות—בתשובות (“a praise”) is analyzed by Elisha Qimron as of the pattern *tuqtūlt* and is listed by him as a word that displays Aramaic influence. (55) In the plural, the word occurs in, e.g., 6Q18 2 8 (see the note of Jonas C. Greenfield, “Review of DJD III,” *JAOS* 89 [1969]: 128–41 [131]); 4Q400 2 1; 4Q403 1 i 3 (in the first and third cases written without *waw* after the *beth*). In 6Q18 2 8 and 4Q403 1 i 3, a *waw* was added above the *beth*.

5–6 הואה...הואה...היאה—These long 3rd fem. and masc. sg. personal pronouns are typical of the Qumran manuscripts (but note ...הואה in line 9), but are found also in the biblical parlance. See also אותכה in 2 2, אתמה in 6 8, and המה in line 2 above. Cf. Qimron, *Grammar*, 257–68.

5 אשר לכול העולמים היאה מלכותו—A rephrasing of the formula in Ps 145:13 (מלכותך מלכות כל עלמים). Compare also the address of the four archangels to God in 1 En. 9:4. (56)

6–7 שאול, תהום, מצולה—The terms are taken from Jonah 2:3–4, 6. In these lines, the author combines pictures and locutions drawn from Deut 32:22, Jonah 2, and 1 Samuel 2, creating a subtle mosaic of references that is lost in the Greek translations.

6 מוריד עד שאול(ה) תחתיה והואה מעלה—The line echoes 1 Sam 2:6 מוריד שאול ויעל.

הואה—The restoration is plausible given the structure of lines 5–6 and the repeated use of the personal pronoun הואה.

הואה(ה) תחתיה—The expression is taken from Deut 32:22 שאול תחתית.

הואה(ה)—Qimron attributes the erasure of the *he* to the general tendency of the Qumran Hebrew to omit the *a* of the direction. Cf.

(55) Cf. idem, “The Derivation of the Noun תשובות in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Sirach, Scrolls, and Sages*, ed. T. Muraoka and J. F. Elwolde, STDJ 33 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 244–52. See also Fitzmyer, “Aramaic and Hebrew Fragments,” 670.

(56) See my note in Devorah Dimant, *From Enoch to Tobit: Collected Studies in Ancient Jewish Literature*, FAT 114 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 148 n. 51.

idem, *Grammar*, 367 n. 35, 403–04. However, it is also due to the introduction of the preposition עד (“until”), which provides the direction.

7 יִפְצֶה—A 3rd per. sg. *yiqtol* form from the root פצה with the sense “to rescue, save.” See Ps 144:7, 11 where the pair פָּצַנִי וְהִצִּילֵנִי (“rescue and save me”) occurs. Cf. Morgenstern, “Language and Literature,” 139.

8 [לְעֵינֵי הַגּוֹיִּים]—The restoration adopted above (following Q), taking up a well-known biblical locution (e.g., Lev 26:45; Ezek 5:8), provides the required antecedent for the following בַּהֶמָּה. F offers לִפְנֵי [הַגּוֹיִּים, a nonbiblical combination.

אֶתְמָה—Long 3rd per. pl. personal pronoun. Cf. Comment on lines 5–6 above.

בַּהֶמָּה—Long 2nd per. sg. pronominal suffix attached to the preposition ב-, forms typical of the Qumran documents. See Comments on 2 7.

9 כִּיָּא—The orthography with final *aleph* to express *i* sound is frequent in Qumran texts (cf. Qimron, *Grammar*, 85), but note the orthography כִּי elsewhere in the manuscript (1 i 3; 2 5).

אֲדִינִיכָּ[מָה]—A *waw* has been inserted above the *daleth*. For this method of correction in Qumran texts and for other cases of inserting *waw* above words, see Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 222. This is one of several corrections occurring in the present manuscript (see Comment on line 2).

#### FRAGMENT 7

This fragment is composed of two separate pieces. The top piece includes the ends of four lines from column i, the intercolumn space, and the beginning of the lines from the following column ii. The second piece, holding sections of four lines, has been attached to the lower part of the second column, thus obtaining the lower left section of lines 3–6. The join of the two pieces in column ii was made on the basis of content, since the beginning of lines 3–4 in piece a provides the text of Tob 13:18 and the beginning of 14:1, while piece b supplies some of the following Tob 14:2. Piece a, which contains sections of both columns, comes from the top of the columns, evidenced by some of the extant top margin. The horizontal dry lines for the written text and the vertical dry line to mark the margin of the left column are observable. The fragment corresponds to the concluding section of Tobi’s final hymn and the following reference to his death. The same sequence has been preserved in the Aramaic copy 4Q196 18. Given the literary genre of praise of Jerusalem, various biblical expressions are borrowed from or influenced by the corresponding chapters in Isaiah.



## Frag. 7 i: Tob 13:14–15

אז שמחי ודוצי	] 1
את בך א	] 2
כול	] 3
ך	] 4

Mus. Inv. 850

PAM 42.218, 43.184

IAA B-366079 (right column: infrared)

IAA B-366078 (right column: colored)

*Notes on Readings*

1 אז—Although the letters are faded in PAM 42.218 the letter *zayin* is still seen intact and the bottom part of the slightly curved leg of a letter, probably an *aleph*, is observable.

2 בך—A new reading (read on basis of PAM 42.218). F notes (DJD XIX, 73) that the first two letters were covered by “loose flakes of skin,” a situation reflected in PAM 42.218 and PAM 43.184. He further notes that “they were removed on 15 June 1993,” revealing clearly the underlying *beth* and final *kaph*. The two letters may still be observed in PAM 42.218, 43.184, and B-366079. So the reading בך is attested rather than the וברך of F and Q. There is no basis for the *resh*. Qa has corrected and read בך. (57) Undecipherable trace of a letter is observable at some distance before the *beth*, so it must be the last letter of the preceding word.

*Translation*

1	[	]then rejoice and exult
2	[	] ◦ in you the
3	[	] all
4	[	].

*Comments*

The series of sg. fem. forms, both of verbs and pronouns, features the address to Jerusalem mentioned explicitly in 7 ii 1. They are modelled on the Jerusalem poems of Isaiah (49:14–26; 51:17–23; 52; 54; 60; 62), a genre that was further developed in the Second Temple literature (cf. 4Q88 VII; 11QPsa XXII; 1QM XII, 13–16; 1 Bar. 4:30–5:9), of which the ode of Tobit is an example. (58) Parts of it are more fully preserved in the Aramaic of 4Q196 18 1–10.

(57) Perhaps influenced by my reading.

(58) The genre is the subject of a detailed analysis in the monograph by Ruth Henderson, *Second Temple Songs of Zion: A Literary and Generic Analysis of the Apostrophe to Zion* (11QPsa XXII 1–15), *Tobit* 13:9–18 and 1 *Baruch* 4:30–5:9, DCLS 17 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014).

1 דוֹץ—שמחי ודוֹץ is a sg. fem. imperative of דוֹץ, “to rejoice.” The verb occurs only once in the Hebrew Bible (Job 41:14) but is common in Aramaic. (59) Since the context is an address to Jerusalem, the chief biblical model for the present locution may have been Isa 54:1, which uses the phrase פָּצְחִי רְנָה וְצַהֲלִי regarding Jerusalem. It is translated by Targum Jonathan as בּוֹעִי תִשְׁבַּחֲא וְדוֹצִי. An Aramaic pair, חַדִּי וּבּוֹעִי (“rejoice and exult”), close to the present Hebrew phrase, occurs in the Aramaic of 4Q196 18 2 (= Tob 13:13) in the same final thanksgiving psalm. This Aramaic pair is used by Targum Jonathan to translate the words שְׂמַחִי וְעָלוֹי of Zeph 3:14 and רְנִי וְשְׂמַחִי of Zech 2:14. Another Aramaic pair, parallel to the present Hebrew phrase, חַדִּי וְדָאָץ, occurs in Targum Jonathan to Hab 1:15, translating the Hebrew יִשְׂמַח/יִגִּיל. Similarly, this Targum renders the Hebrew תִּשְׂמַחְנָה...תִּצְלֹנָה in 2 Sam 1:20.

2 בֶּךְ—The word, consisting of a pronominal suffix attached to the prepositional *beth*, is consonant with the address to Jerusalem formulated in the 2nd per. suffix (compare Isa 52:1; 62:4). It thus supplies contextual evidence for this reading.

### Frag. 7 ii: Tob 13:18–14:2

[	ירושלים תהלת]	1
[	האלהים אש]	2
[	הק]דוש ל[עולם ועד	3
[	וימ]ות בשלום ב[ן]	4
[	והו[א בן שמונה וחמש]ים	5
[	מר]אות [ו]אחר אש]	6

Plate 850

PAM 41.368, 42.218, 43.184

IAA B-366079 (left column top right piece: infrared)

IAA B-366078 (left column top right piece: colored)

IAA B-366083 (left column bottom left piece: infrared)

IAA B-366082 (left column bottom left piece: colored)

### Notes on Readings

1 ]תהלת—Of the *lamed*, only the typical curved lower section has survived, seen clearly in PAM 42.218 and IAA B-366079. **Q** reads תהלין and in the note proposes תהלת. In **Qa**, he read תהלות. However, the last two traces may be read as belonging to a single letter, that of *tau*.

(59) Cf. Jacob Levi, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim* (Leipzig: Baumgärtner's Buchhandlung, 1881), 165. The verb appears once in an Aramaic text from Qumran, 4Q542 1 i 11.

3 לָ—The lower curved section of a *lamed* survived in the middle of the line, as may be seen clearly in PAM 41.368.

4 ותמן—Thus **B**, **F**, and **Q**. Of the third letter, only the lower half of a vertical stroke survived (as may be seen in PAM 42.218 and IAA B-366079). It may be read in more than one way. See Comment.

ן—The tail of the final *nun* is clear but only an upper left angular section of the preceding letter has survived (see PAM 41.368). It has been read as *beth* by both **F** and **Q**. Given the final *nun*, which permits only a short word of two letters, the reading is probable. It also accords with the context that deals with Tobit's age, as is evident from the use of the same word in the following line 5.

6 מראות—Read with **Q**, but the restoration לראות is also possible. The third letter is a little more difficult to decipher. The surviving slightly wavy top horizontal trace fits with that of a *he*, as read by **F** מראה, rather than the more curved roof of a *tau*. However, a reading of a *tau* at the end is also possible, given the cases in which the roof of this letter is executed in a less wavy manner (see the *tau* in the words ספרתי and אתי in 4 6–7). **F**'s reading is problematic for additional reasons; he apparently connected the last horizontal stroke to the preceding upper section of a vertical stroke, and read them as one letter, *he*. However, this vertical trace is not sufficiently close to the horizontal one, and therefore it must be a separate letter and is better read as the top section of a *waw* (with **Q**). However, reading a *waw* followed by a *he* would create אזה[, a reading that makes less sense than that proposed by **Q**, which therefore is retained here.

רשן—Thus **Q**. **F** has ארבע. At first sight, the surviving small upper section of a slightly curved stroke of the second letter may fit either the edge of the left arm of a *shin* (thus **Q**) or the protruding top edge of a *resh* (thus **F**). The reading of a *shin* is better suited to the wavy form of the surviving trace, seen clearly on the oldest photograph PAM 41.368, and therefore is retained above.

### Translation

1	Jerusalem a hymn[	]
2	the God wh[o ]	
3	who [	h]oly for[ eternity ]
4	And ende[d	and he di]ed in peace at the age of[ ]
5	[	and h]e was fif[ty]-eight [years] old[ ]
6	[	from s]eeing [and] afterwards[ ]

### Comments

3 אשר—**F** and **Q** restore אשרן בכי יברכו שמו ה[קדוש] on the basis of the corresponding Aramaic text of 4Q196 18 11 דביכי יברכון ש[מה]. However, the Aramaic is not quite identical to the Hebrew and therefore such a restoration should be avoided in order not to prejudice the surviving Hebrew text.

לְעוֹלָם וְעַד—The restoration (thus **Q**) rests on the similar formula in Ps 145:25. **F** restores לְעוֹלָם. The parallel line in 4Q196 18 11 has not preserved the corresponding words.

4 ותִּמְנֵן דְּבָרֵי תוֹדַת טוֹבֵי יִמִּין—**F** restores ותִּמְנֵן דְּבָרֵי תוֹדַת טוֹבֵי יִמִּין while **Q** restores ותִּמְנֵן דְּבָרֵי הוֹדוֹת טוֹבֵי יִמִּין, following **G**<sup>II</sup>. The parallel line in the Aramaic of 4Q196 18 12 is missing, but **F** restores there the same formulation as in the Hebrew here. The reading of a *mem* has been influenced by the translations of Tob 14:1. The **G**<sup>II</sup> Greek of this verse has συνετέλεσθησαν (“ended”), and similarly the Old Latin *consummati sunt*. For the formulation, see Job 31:40 תִּמּוֹ דְּבָרֵי אִיּוֹב (“the words of Job are ended”). Interestingly, the Septuagint to Job ad. loc. renders the verb תִּמּוֹ as ἐπαύσατο (“ceased”), the verb used by the short Greek version (**G**<sup>I</sup>) to translate Tob 14:1.

וְיִמִּין בְּשָׁלוֹם בָּנִין—The words correspond to the Aramaic in 4Q196 18 12: וְיִמִּין בְּשָׁלוֹם בָּנִין. The formulation is reproduced by **G**<sup>II</sup> καὶ ἀπέθανεν ἐν εἰρήνῃ.

5 שְׁמוֹנֶה וְחֲמִשִּׁים—The number here tallies with that of the Aramaic copy 4Q196 18 13 שְׁמוֹנֶה וְחֲמִשִּׁים, and that transmitted by the Greek short version (**G**<sup>I</sup>) and the Old Latin of Tob 14:2. Sinaiticus has there “sixty two.” (60) This is one of the rare cases in which **G**<sup>I</sup> joins the Old Latin in preserving the old textual tradition.

6 אַחֲרָיִם—**Q**’s reading and restoration אַחֲרָיִם נִפְקְחוּ חַיִּים בְּטוֹב are influenced by the surviving line of the parallel passage in the Aramaic of 4Q196 18 14: אַחֲרָיִם חַיִּים בְּטוֹב. The Aramaic corresponds to the **G**<sup>II</sup> version ἔζησαν ἐν ἀγαθοῖς.

## UNIDENTIFIED FRAGMENTS (61)

### FRAGMENT 8

The text of this small fragment has not been located in Tobit. But taking into consideration the new readings proposed below and by Émile Puech, it may be located somewhere in the last eschatological hymn of Tobit in Tobit 12–13.

(60) Cf. the comments of Skemp, *Vulgate of Tobit*, 426–27; Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 318; idem, “Aramaic and Hebrew Fragments,” 663.

(61) Frags. 8–9 are not included in **Q**’s edition but they are in his recent **Qa**. Frag. 8 was re-edited by Émile Puech, “Note sur 4Q200 Fragment 8,” *RevQ* 26 (2014): 453–54. Corrections to the reading of **F** were also offered by Dhont and Tigchelaar, “Notes on Readings.”

## Frag. 8

[	ן] פְּדוּיִם	] 1
[	ן] אֶרֶה נִפְלֵא	] 2
[	ן] כְּבוֹדָה	] 3
[	vacat ל	] 4

Mus. Inv. 850

PAM 42.324, 43.184

IAA B-366085 (infrared)

IAA B-366084 (colored)

The fragment is wholly blackened and may be read only with the aid of infrared photographs.

## Notes on Readings

1 ן]—With **Qe**. Only a long downstroke, reaching below the line and ending with an angular curve to the left, has survived, fitting with a final *kaph*. See this letter in עִמָּךְ in 4 2 and לֶךְ in 2 7.

ן] פְּדוּיִם—Thus Dhont and Tigchelaar and **Qa**. As noted by Dhont and Tigchelaar, the lower part of a right vertical downstroke of the initial letter is preserved, joining angularly to a horizontal base stroke. The very faded elongated edge of this base stroke, typical of a *pe*, is noticeable in IAA B-366085 (compare the *pe* in the adjoining word נִפְלֵא in 8 2). See also PAM 42.324. The following two letters may be read as two *yods* or a *waw* and a *yod*. Puech suggests מְדִיִּים or מְדוּיִם.

2 אֶרֶה ן]—A new reading (accepted by **Qe**). Of the first letter, only the left part of a slanted upper stroke has survived, and is seen clearly in PAM 42.324. It resembles the left part of the head of a *waw* or *yod* rather than a *daleth* or a *mem*, options proposed by Puech. The next letter, of which the entire upper section is preserved in PAM 42.324, is clearly a *resh*, indicated by its wavy top stroke.

ן] נִפְלֵא—The first three letters are fully preserved in PAM 42.324. Of the fourth letter, the upper tip of the right arm of an *aleph* has survived, along with the bottom section of its right leg and the lower tip of the left leg. These remains assure the reading of an *aleph* (with Dhont and Tigchelaar and Puech). **F** reads נִפְלֵא without evidence for a *gimel*.

3 כְּבוֹדָה ן]—Clear in PAM 42.324. Thus also Dhont and Tigchelaar and Puech. **F** has ן] וְכִבְדָּה, but his first three letters do not conform with the surviving traces.

4 vacat ל]—With Puech. The upper part of the flag of a *lamed* is clear in PAM 42.324, as well as the *vacat*, not marked by **F** but specified by Puech.

## Translation

- 1 ]]. redeemed[
- 2 l]ight (is/will be ) wonderful[

3 ]your glory[  
4 ]. *vacat* [

### Comments

**1** פְּדוּיִים—“redeemed ones.” Cf. Isa 35:10; 51:11 וּפְדוּיֵי ה' יִשְׁבּוּן (“and the redeemed by God shall return”). Compare 4Q511 36 3 לְפְדוּיִים. The word may be related to Tob 13:13, where a reference is made to people who will come back to worship in Jerusalem. Such a context aligns with the following words “light,” “wonderful,” and “your glory.”

**2** אֹרֶה[א—The word may be parsed either as the noun אֹרֶה “light” (cf. Esth 8:16) or as the noun אֹר with a 3rd per. fem. pronoun, אֹרָה (“her light”). Compare Isa 60:19–20. Compare Tob 13:13 (G<sup>II</sup>).

נִפְלְאָה—**Qa** proposes to reconstruct נִפְלְאָה to match the fem. אֹרָה and create the locution “a wonderful light.”

### FRAGMENT 9

If the fragment comes from Tobit it may have belonged to the wisdom sayings Tobi addressed to his departing son in chapter 4.

[	תשפֿל]	] 1
[	ותפֿור לשלֿם]	] 2
[	ל]	] 3

Mus. Inv. 850  
PAM 42.184, 43.184  
IAA B-366087 (infrared)  
IAA B-366086 (colored)

### Notes on Readings

**1** תשפֿל]—With **Qa**. Of the last letter, only a slanted, slightly curved, bottom edge of a stroke has survived. Its ending slightly above the bottom of the line suggests a *lamed*. Compare this letter in the word לשלֿם in the following line.

**2** ותפֿור]—With **Qa**, reading the third and fourth traces as those of two letters, *pe* and *zayin*, and not of a single letter *teth* (thus **F**). The two traces are very similar to the letter *teth*; however, what confirms the reading of the left stroke as a *zayin* is its erect vertical form, contrasted with the slightly curved arm of a *teth* (see the execution of this letter in מעט [2 8] and in טובי [6 4]).

לשלֿם]—The surviving lower strokes of the final letter, which are written below the normal line, form an unroofed square and can only be the lower part of a final *mem*. **F**'s reading of the final letter as a *lamed* (לשלֿל) is without evidence.

*Translation*

- 1 ]she/you will become low[  
 2 ]and she/you will scatter to pay[

*Comments*

- 1 תשפל<sup>1</sup>—The form may be parsed as a 2nd per. masc. sg. or a 3rd per. fem. sg. *yiqtol qal* of the verb שפל (“become low”).  
 2 וְתַפּוֹר<sup>2</sup>—The form may be parsed as a 2nd per. masc. sg. or a 3rd per. fem. sg. *yiqtol piel* of the verb פור (“scatter”) with a *waw*.

## DISCUSSION

The presence at Qumran of four Aramaic copies of Tobit and only one in Hebrew raises the question regarding which were copied from the original language. Is 4Q200 a translation from an Aramaic original or is the reverse the case? Usually this question has been discussed in terms of the more general problem, namely, that of ascertaining the original language of the entire book of Tobit. The arguments marshaled in favor of one option or the other rest mainly on linguistic data. Joseph Fitzmyer and Matthew Morgenstern judged that the Hebrew of 4Q200 is a translation from an Aramaic version. (62) In favor of an Aramaic original, Fitzmyer noted that this Hebrew is postexilic, that the use of the conjunctive אשר reflects a translation of the Aramaic דַּי, and that the form תשבוּחַת is Aramaic. (63) However, all these elements are characteristic of Late Biblical and postexilic Hebrew in general, as he himself noted, and so cannot be taken as proof of a translation from the Aramaic. (64) Morgenstern supports the same thesis because “the

(62) Surveying the debate on the original language of Tobit, Hallermayer also concludes that the entire book was probably composed in Aramaic. See Hallermayer, *Text und Überlieferung*, 174–79 (179). Machiela, “Differing Phenomena of Targum,” 243 also concurs with this conclusion. However, for Christian Stadel, the debate on the original language of the book of Tobit “has essentially reached a stalemate, since most scholars agree that the evidence does not allow a definite decision.” Cf. “Stray Remarks on the Tobit Fragments,” *DSD* 23 (2016): 206–20 (216).

(63) Cf. Fitzmyer, “Aramaic and Hebrew Fragments,” 669–70. However, see Elisha Qimron’s detailed discussion, which demonstrates that the word belongs with others that were adopted from Aramaic by Late Hebrew. Cf. idem, “The Derivation of the Noun תשבוּחַת.” Being a general feature of postbiblical Hebrew, the question is whether this single word alone can be used as proof for an Aramaic original of Tobit.

(64) On the difficulties regarding whether Tobit was composed in Aramaic or Hebrew, Schmitt observed that the influence of Aramaic on Late Hebrew and that of Hebrew on contemporary Aramaic render such a decision particularly thorny. Schmitt himself opted for a double original, both in Hebrew and in Aramaic. See Schmitt, “Die hebräischen Textfunde,” 579–80. See also Fassberg, “Hebrew and Aramaic:

uncomfortable style of the Hebrew would suggest it is secondary to the more fluent and stylistic Aramaic.” (65) Others support the claim of an Aramaic original citing circumstantial evidence. Daniel Machiela noted the affinity of themes between Tobit and the Aramaic Genesis Apocryphon. (66) I have broadened such connections to the entire group of Qumran Aramaic works about biblical patriarchs and to the knowledge of the Aramaic story of Ahiqar. (67)

However, from precisely the same unusual Hebrew of 4Q200, Wise and Buth draw the opposite conclusion. Both rely on the use of the infinitive absolute as a finite verb. Wise finds it “very idiomatic” and therefore, to his mind, it does not accord with translated Hebrew. (68) Buth argues that it is precisely this grammatical feature that shows that the fluent Aramaic of other Tobit copies is secondary and represents an attempt to smooth out the unusual Hebrew. (69) Therefore, for both, Hebrew is the original language. Steven Fassberg has recently proposed that the phenomenon of the infinitive absolute as a finite verb, current in Late Biblical Hebrew, is part of a standardized literary Hebrew developed in the Second Temple period. (70) According to him, this

Mutual Influence.” Edward Cook is also in favor of an Aramaic original. In his opinion, the Greek is a faithful translation of the original Aramaic. Cf. idem, “our Translated Tobit,” in *Targumic and Cognate Studies: Essays in Honour of Martin McNamara*, JSOTSupp 230 (Sheffield: Academic Press, 1996), 153–62.

(65) Cf. Morgenstern, “Language and Literature,” 140. Having surveyed lexical and grammatical features in Tobit presented in favor of a Hebrew original, Daniel Machiela concludes that they are better explained as translations from the Aramaic. Cf. idem, “The Hebrew of Tobit,” 111–20. However, it must be admitted that the evidence for a Hebrew and for an Aramaic original both have merit.

(66) See Machiela, “Differing Phenomena of Targum,” 242–43; idem, “The Hebrew of Tobit,” 109–10.

(67) Devorah Dimant, “Tobit and the Qumran Aramaic Texts,” in *From Enoch to Tobit*, 173–91.

(68) Cf. Michael O. Wise, “Note on 4Q196 (PapTob ar<sup>a</sup>) and Tobit I 22,” *VT* 43 (1993): 566–69 (569 n. 4).

(69) Cf. Randall Buth, “Distinguishing Hebrew from Aramaic in Semitized Greek Texts, with an Application for the Gospels and Pseudepigrapha,” in *The Language Environment of First Century Judaea*, ed. R. Buth and S. Notley, JCPs 26 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 247–319 (294–95). Esther Eshel opts for a Hebrew original as well, arguing that being a popular story it was probably translated into Aramaic in order to gain wider readership. Cf. eadem, “Biblical Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in the Light of the Qumran Scrolls,” in *The Qumran Scrolls and Their World* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press, 2019), 2:573–600 (591) (Hebrew). Armin Schmitt suggested that originally two versions of Tobit were extant, one in Hebrew, the *lingua sacra*, the other in the more widespread Aramaic. Cf. idem, “Die hebräischen Textfunde zum Buch Tobit,” 580. See the critique of these suggestions by Machiela, “The Hebrew of Tobit,” 107–10.

(70) Cf. Steven E. Fassberg, “The Infinitive Absolute as Finite Verb and Standard Literary Hebrew of the Second Temple Period,” in *Conservatism and Innovation in the Hebrew Language of the Hellenistic Period*, ed. J. Joosten and J.-S. Rey, *STDJ* 73



literary style combines classical and postclassical elements. (71) If this hypothesis is accepted, the Hebrew of 4Q200 may be viewed as a specimen of standard literary Hebrew, and its frequent use of the infinitive absolute as a final verb is only one of its features. (72) If this is true, the Hebrew version of 4Q200 could be an original rather than a translation from the Aramaic. In this connection, it is worthwhile noting that 4Q200 must be a copy of another Hebrew document, as indicated by the scribal corrections scattered in the manuscript. (73) While this fact does not solve the problem of the original language, it suggests that a Hebrew version of this book was available prior to 4Q200, which is dated to around the beginning of the Common Era. However, it must be admitted that neither linguistic nor circumstantial data have resolved the problem of the original language of Tobit or, for that matter, that of 4Q200.

The comparison of the Hebrew version of 4Q200 with the Greek translations, and chiefly with the long Greek recension (G<sup>II</sup>), brings another complex element into an already complicated picture. From the textual point of view, the Qumran text follows essentially the textual tradition of the long Greek recension, that of Sinaiticus, together with the Old Latin. Both attest to the same sequence, structure, and wording, whereas the shorter Greek text is more concise and less detailed. In this respect, the Hebrew copy goes hand in hand with the Qumran Aramaic copies, which are also very close to the long recension. However, small differences between the Hebrew and the long version demonstrate that they are not identical. (74) At times the Hebrew version abounds with details not present in the Greek translation. For instance, the pronoun *להמה* in frag. 4 line 1 and the word *עור* in line 4 of the same fragment are omitted. While these small omissions may be explained as due to Greek linguistic constraints, the omission of the phrase *והלכתי אל אבי* in frag. 4 line 5 is of a different character. It appears to have been effected in order to avoid the repetition of certain details that have been mentioned already or implied. Another detail distinguishing the Hebrew from the Greek is the mention of names. The Hebrew of frag. 4 includes the

(Leiden: Brill, 2008), 47–60. Also Stadel observes that the infinitive absolute as a finite verb occurs frequently in the Hebrew of Esther. Cf. *idem*, “Stray Remarks,” 215 n. 31.

(71) Cf. Fassberg, “The Infinitive Absolute,” 59–60.

(72) Indeed, Fassberg sees in the Hebrew of 4Q200 an excellent example of the proposed late literary Hebrew (personal communication of 26 December, 2017).

(73) See Introduction above.

(74) As already noted by Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte*, 2:73. See Fitzmyer’s comment in “Aramaic and Hebrew Fragments,” 663: “The Qumran Aramaic and Hebrew texts, however, do agree in general with the long recension of S and Vetus Latina; there are times when they are fuller than either of these (with added words and phrases), but also times when they are shorter than either of them.”

name of Raguel's daughter and Tobiah's bride, Sarah, whereas the Greek Sinaiticus omits it. One of the clearest divergences occurs in lines 3–5 of the same fragment, with the depiction of Tobiah's parents awaiting the return of their son. In the Hebrew version, the father and mother are mentioned separately whereas in the Greek of Sinaiticus they are presented together.

In another example, in frag. 6, there are even more important differences, perhaps due to the poetic character of the preserved passage, taken mostly from Tobit's thanksgiving prayer (Tob 12:20–13:4). Perhaps the most significant divergence lies in the reference to the dispersion of Israel among the nations. While the Qumran Hebrew passage advises the Israelites to praise God even while scattered among the nations, the Greek version states that such praise is required because God has scattered Israel among the nations. So while the Hebrew recommends the praise of God even in exile, both Greek versions affirm that such praise is due as a result of the exilic state, which was obviously a punishment for Israel's sins, as stated by the Greek in the following verses. In this context, both Greek recensions replace the Hebrew term שְׂאוֹל with the corresponding Greek one, Hades. However, the Hebrew text employs here three terms, מְצוּלָה, תְּהוֹמֹת, and שְׂאוֹל, which it borrows from Jonah 2:3–4 and 6, and combines them with 1 Sam 2:6 and Deut 32:22. They are evidently referring to the divine rescue from the lowest place, thus alluding to the future deliverance from the lowest state in exile. These allusions are lost in the Greek.

The differences noted above, together with others not recorded here, suggest an editorial process that took place during the translation of Tobit from the original Semitic text, whether Hebrew or Aramaic. It is impossible to know how close 4Q200 is to the original, or if there were additional intervening editorial stages between the original and the Greek rendering; in addition, the Hebrew (and Aramaic) versions may represent a textual tradition that differs slightly from that of the long recension. These complex issues do not shed light on the question of the original language of 4Q200.

Editorial intervention is also observed in the shorter Greek version, though in great part it is revision of a base text that is similar to the long version. However, even here the circumstances are not clear; for although the short recension is typologically later than the long one, in terms of absolute dating it must be quite old since in part it is attested in a papyrus fragment (of Tob 12:6–7, 8–11) that has been dated to 220–250 CE. (75)

(75) The papyrus is kept in the Papyrological Institute G. Vitelli in Florence, numbered PST Inv. Cap. 46. Cf. Manfredo Manfredi, "Un Frammento del Libro di Tobit LXX, Tobias 12, 6–7, 8–11," in *Paideia Cristiana: Studi in onore di Mario Naldini*,

Another vellum fragment (of Tob 12:14–19), Oxyrhynchus 1594, is dated to the late third century CE. (76) So both fragments are earlier than Codex Sinaiticus. These data suggest that Tobit circulated in Greek translations of diverse textual character from at least the beginning of the second century CE. This adds another factor to the intricate textual history of Tobit.

## APPENDIX

### 3Q14 4—A SIXTH QUMRAN COPY OF TOBIT?

In 1962, the third volume appeared of the newly established series, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, which was created for publishing the manuscripts discovered at Qumran and in the Judean Desert. (77) The volume was devoted to the findings of the small Qumran caves situated around the site that contained limited numbers of documents (unlike Caves 1, 4, and 11). The volume covered texts found in Caves 2–3, 5–10. Maurice Baillet edited the materials from Caves 2–3, 6–10, except for the Cave 3 Copper Scroll, which was edited by Józef Milik. Milik also prepared the editions of texts from Cave 5. Roland de Vaux contributed an archeological survey of the caves to the volume.

As was Baillet's practice when editing scrolls from other caves, he grouped disparate Cave 3 documents under a single number. In the present case, he included frag. 4 with five other small Aramaic fragments under the number 14, entitled "Fragments isolés." (78) The volume as a whole does not indicate which photographs served as the basis for the various editions. (79) Therefore, one can only consult the printed plate XIX in relation to Baillet's edition. Inspection of this photograph makes clear that frag. 4 is the largest in this small Aramaic group, preserving two complete words and the remains of four others. Perhaps this permitted Baillet to suggest restorations that identify the piece with a passage from Tob 7:1–2. This suggestion is mentioned only in the sparse comments that accompany Baillet's edition. In noting it, Baillet did not refer

Scritti in onore 2 (Rome: Gruppo editoriale internazionale, 1994), 175–81. Its text is reproduced with short comments by Weeks, Gathercole, and Stuckenbruck, *Book of Tobit*, 19–20, its variants noted in their synopsis.

(76) Re-edited by Weeks, Gathercole, and Stuckenbruck, *Book of Tobit*, 18–19. In their opinion, it comes from "an unknown version of Tobit" (*ibid.*, 18). A later vellum fragment (of Tob 2:2–5), Oxyrhynchus 1076, is dated to the sixth century. Cf. *eidem*, *ibid.*, 15–16.

(77) Cf. *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumrân*, ed. M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, DJD III (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962). The photographs that served the editors for establishing the texts were published in a separate volume: *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumrân—Planches*, ed. M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, DJD III (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962).

(78) DJD III, 102–03, plate XIX.

(79) For frag. 4, Baillet must have used PAM 41.564 or a similar photograph. Information regarding photographs used was only included from DJD vol. X onwards, when the volumes began to be produced under the general editorship of Emanuel Tov.

explicitly to the Cave 4 Aramaic copies of Tobit, although at the time their existence was certainly known to him. (80) This modest treatment may have contributed to the silence regarding 3Q14 4 being a fifth Qumran Aramaic copy of Tobit. It must have escaped the attention of Joseph Fitzmyer when he published the Cave 4 copies, as it has escaped the eyes of other surveys of Tobit copies, including my own. However, Daniel Machiela brought it up recently in his own discussion of 4Q200, and has suggested that the fragment should be considered a sixth Qumran copy of Tobit. (81) The issue is significant for the picture of Tobit at Qumran and for understanding Tobit in general. Since we are today in possession of a full edition of the Qumran Tobit copies and much better photographs of 3Q14 4, (82) the matter merits fresh examination. The reedition and discussion below are offered in this perspective.

### 3Q14 4

IAA B-484526 (infrared)

IAA B-484525 (colored)

PAM 41.564

This is a skin piece of bright brown color (thus Baillet). The fragment comes from the bottom right corner of a column since it retains part of both the bottom and right margins. A dry line to mark this right margin is seen clearly in PAM 41.564. Baillet noted that traces of the stitching were seen at the bottom edge of the piece. This datum, and the straight vertical tear along the right edge of the fragment, indicate that it comes from the bottom right edge of the first column in the sheet.

בשן	1
רעון	2
דרן	3
לעדנ־	<i>marg.</i> 4
בכול ]	5
בכול י־	6
<i>bottom marg.</i>	

### Notes on Readings

1 בשן—With Baillet. Of the second letter, a right curved stroke has survived that slants down to the left, joining at the bottom with the end of a probable

(80) See Milik's notice to this effect in Józef T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (London: SCM Press, 1959), 30–31. Baillet did not mention his Tobit identification in his short preliminary survey of Cave 3 texts in "Le travail d'édition des manuscrits de Qumrân," *RB* 63 (1956): 49–67 (54–55). However, in commenting on the suggestion to read in line 4 the name Edna, he noted "en rapport avec un texte araméen de Tobie" (DJD III, 103). Was he referring to one of the copies being prepared by Milik?

(81) Cf. n. 7 above.

(82) Available at the Israel Antiquities Authority internet site.

vertical stroke. These traces are typical of a certain type of a *shin*, as may be seen in the words **בשלם** in 4Q197 4 i 2 and **קשיטא** in 4Q197 4 iii 2.

**2 רען**—The slanted stroke of the *ayin* touches at its bottom the edge of another vertical stroke, probably of a *waw*. In his text, Baillet noted the presence of a trace yet in his notes he proposed the form **רענאל**, assuming the reading of *waw*.

**4 לעדניא**—Of the last letter, the bottom section of a thin vertical stroke that touches the base horizontal stroke of the *nun* has survived. Baillet read it as a *yod*, **לעדניא**.

**6 בכול יס**—The pointed head of the fifth letter, probably a *yod*, can be still seen in PAM 41.564. However, the edge piece that contained the last two traces is lost in the IAA photographs.

### Translation

- 1 ..[
- 2 ...[
- 3 ..[
- 4 ....[
- 5 in all [
- 6 in all ..[

### Comments

**2 רען**—These letters served for Baillet as the first peg on which to hang the fragment's identification with a Tobit context. In his notes, he proposed restoring the name **רענאל**, the father of Sarah, the future wife of Tobiah, son of Tobit. The context is that of Tobit chapter 7, where the meeting of Tobiah with Sarah and her parents is related. Indeed, the name of **רענאל** is mentioned in two Aramaic copies of Tobit (4Q196 14 ii 6; 4Q197 4 ii 4; 4 iii 2, 3, 8) and in Hebrew in 4Q200 4 2, 6. However, it is unclear whether Baillet was aware of these data. (83)

**3 דרן**—Here Baillet proposes his second restoration related to Tobit, namely **דרנתא**, "(the) courtyard." (84) The word occurs in 4Q196 14 ii 6 (doubtful) and 4Q197 4 iii 3. This restoration adds to that in the previous line to create a reference to Tob 7:1–2, where Tobit (in the Sinaiticus version) relates how Tobiah and his angelic company found Reu'el sitting at the entrance to his courtyard. The episode is partly preserved in 4Q196 14 ii 6 and 4Q197 4 iii 3.

**4 לעדניא**—Baillet's main reading is **לעדניא** ("for ages"), a plural of the noun **עדן**. The word is documented in the singular in two copies of Tobit (4Q196 4 1; 4Q198 1 9, 10). However, in the notes, Baillet writes "une lecture **לעדנה** n'est pas exclue." Edna is the wife of Reu'el and the mother of Sarah, and she is mentioned several times in Tobit, especially in chapter 7, relating the meeting of Tobiah and Sarah and their marriage. Were the reading precise,

(83) Perhaps he was, at least partly. See n. 80 above.

(84) Cf. Cook, *Dictionary of Qumran Aramaic*, 58.

it would clinch the identification of the piece with the text of Tobit. For while the remains in lines 2–3 may be restored in ways not related to Tobit, the four surviving letters of line 4 leave less room for restoration. Nevertheless, we are now in the possession of three Aramaic Tobit references to the name Edna, and they are always written with an *alef* at the end, עֲדְנָא (4Q197 4 iii 4, 5; 4Q197 5 7 [85]). In the note, Baillet proposed a restoration of the name with a *he* at the end, yet neither *alef* nor *he* fit with the thin trace read by Baillet as *yod*. Thus the identification of the word with the name of Edna is unlikely.

5–6 בִּכּוּל...בִּכּוּל—These words cannot be located in the context of Tob 7:1–2 and neither did Baillet offer one. Indeed, they do not seem to belong there and provide another argument for precluding a text of Tobit.

#### DISCUSSION

The reexamination of frag. 4 of 3Q14 provides an exercise in updating and refreshing older readings of a fragment published long ago. When Baillet worked on his fragments more than sixty years ago, the identification of 3Q14 4 with Tob 7:1–2 seemed feasible. Today, with the Aramaic copies of Tobit fully published, and with new advanced photographs available, a fresh examination of the fragment makes such an identification improbable for it rested on questionable restorations. With 3Q14 4 being discarded as a possible copy of Tobit, and the now proven forgery of the mysterious papyrus fragment noted by scholars (see n. 7 above), the number of securely established copies of Tobit from Qumran remains at five. (86)

Devorah DIMANT

(85) The Hebrew copy, 4Q200, has not preserved Edna's name.

(86) Unlike Machiela's calculation. See n. 7 above.

## MORE FRAGMENTS FROM 4QJOB<sup>A</sup> (4Q99)

**I**N 2000, Eugene Ulrich and Sarianna Metso published twenty-three fragments of 4QJob<sup>a</sup> (4Q99) in DJD XVI, (1) and considered the possibility that fragments of 4QJob<sup>b</sup> (4Q100) formed part of 4QJob<sup>a</sup>. (2) They identified the text of nineteen of those fragments. In 2020 Rebekka Luther and Idan Dershowitz identified the text of 4Q99 frags. 20–22 and added to 4Q99 a fragment which had been published tentatively but incorrectly as 4Q256 frag. 1. (3) These four fragments all could be assigned to one and the same section of the scroll, matching parts of Job 37:13–19. At the same time, Eibert Tigchelaar identified 4Q99 frag. 23 as preserving a variant reading of Job 36:20–22. (4) The fragment can be aligned to 4Q99 frags. 7 ii, 12–16 i in lines 11–13.

We here add three more small fragments to those published 4QJob<sup>a</sup> fragments. First, we argue that 4Q100 frags. 5–6 are rather fragments from 4Q99, and we publish here a tiny piece (ca. 6 by 1.2 mm) which was still attached to frag. 6 on PAM 42.638, but which since has broken off. (5) Second, we identify one of the hitherto unidentified fragments

(1) Eugene Ulrich and Sarianna Metso, “99. 4QJob<sup>a</sup>,” in *Qumran Cave 4. XI: Psalms to Chronicles*, ed. Eugene Ulrich et al., DJD XVI (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 171–78.

(2) Eugene Ulrich and Sarianna Metso, “100. 4QJob<sup>b</sup>,” in *Qumran Cave 4. XI: Psalms to Chronicles*, ed. Eugene Ulrich et al., DJD XVI (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 179–80 at 179. They refer explicitly to frags. 5–6 which then would be placed towards the bottom left of 4Q99 frag. 1.

(3) Rebekka Luther and Idan Dershowitz, “Four Unidentified Fragments from 4QJob<sup>a</sup> (4Q99),” *RevQ* 32/115 (2020), 121–27.

(4) Eibert Tigchelaar, “4QJob<sup>a</sup> (4Q99) frag. 23 (Job 36:20–22),” *RevQ* 32/115 (2020), 129–34. Figure 1 in that article lacks frag. 14.

(5) <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284049>. Identification Rebekka Luther. We have not been able to retrace this tiny piece on later photographs.

which has been published as PAM 43.682 frag. 29 (6) as a fragment from 4QJob<sup>a</sup>.

## 1 4Q100 frags. 5 and 6 as 4Q99 Fragments (Job 31:20–22)

PAM 42.638 has in the top right corner eight different 4Q99 and 4Q100 fragments. In this photograph 4Q100 frag. 6 still has a second line, with the letters שבר[. In PAM 43.094 the bottom piece of this fragment with these letters has broken off. In PAM 43.157 frag. 5 has been joined to frag. 6. There are several reasons to assign these fragments to 4Q99 and not to 4Q100. Textually, the fragments cover Job 31:20–22, and hence can be placed immediately after 4Q99 frag. 1 (Job 31:14–19), whereas the other 4Q100 fragments cover parts of Job 8 through 14. Materially, the colour of 4Q100 frags. 5–6 is different from that of 4Q100 frags. 1–4 (frag. 4 is presently on IAA Plate 1106). Most importantly, however, the script of 4Q100 frags. 5–6 is close to that of 4Q99 and unlike that of 4Q100. This can best be illustrated by the Hasmonaeen form of final *mem* of frag. 5, which is long, with a curved right downstroke, and open at the bottom, similar to the final *mems* of 4Q99, as against the Herodian square and angular closed form of 4Q100 frag. 3. We therefore propose to place the fragments formerly numbered 4Q100 frags. 5–6 in the lines immediately after 4Q99 frag. 1. Admittedly, the type of damage of 4Q99 frags. 1 and 2 (extensive surface damage) is different from that of 4Q100 frags. 5–6 (less surface damage, brittleness and breaking into many small pieces, as in other fragments of 4Q99), but we assume this is due to the vagaries of deterioration, rather than to a different kind of skin.

We transcribe the fragments as follows (and restore the lost parts on the basis of the Masoretic Text):

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1 | [אם לא ברכוני חלצו ומגו כבשי ית]חמם          |
| 2 | [אם הניפותי על יתום ידי כי אראה ]בשער עזרתִי |
| 3 | [כתפי משכמה תפול ואזרעי מקנה ת]שבר           |

At the end of lines 1 and 3 the surface is uninscribed, indicating that the verses were written stichographically.

## 2 PAM 43.682 frag. 29 (Job 36:18–19)

We identified another small fragment as textually and materially joining to 4Q99 frag. 7. We are aware of two PAM photographs of the fragment. Photograph PAM 43.167 (7) shows the fragment in a less damaged state, and without the breaks that are on PAM 43.682. However,

(6) <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-285461>.  
Identification Eibert Tigchelaar.

(7) <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284614>.



the edges of the fragment are less clear on the photograph PAM 43.167, so that we use the image on PAM 43.682 to determine the exact shape of the fragment.

The editors of the unidentified fragments transcribed the text of PAM 43.682 frag. 29 as

1 [ק לא בצ]

and merely commented that “the combination of letters is not attested in the Bible or in the known non-biblical Qumran texts.” (8) However, it is clear from the photographs that the first traces should not be read as *qop*, but as final *kap* preceded by another letter. If one blows up the photograph, that first letter has the typical strokes of *ayin*. This leads to the corrected reading

1 [עך לא בצ]

This sequence of letters matches Job 36:19, which is attested in 4Q99. Comparison with 4Q99 shows that the handwriting is identical, for example in the narrow, horned final *kap* with a slightly curving tail. Moreover, the fragment joins perfectly to the left side of 4Q99 frag. 7 ii. The identification and placement of the fragment can therefore be considered certain, and complements the reading of 4Q99 frags. 7 ii, 12–16 i line 9 (Job 36:18–19) as follows:

9 אל יטכה היערך ש[ן]עך לא בצ[ר]

### 3 Textual Importance of PAM 43.682 frag. 29 (Job 36:18–19)

Elihu's question as it stands in MT Job 36:19 is a semantically difficult one. The preserved remains of לא בצר are marked *incertus* in the BHS text-critical notes and have been subject to several emendations in the past. Bickell suggested a new vocalization, which leads to the verbal form בצר “being cut off.” (9) Others proposed to read לו instead of לא and consider בצר to be a gloss. (10) However, the newly identified fragment supports the MT reading against all suggested emendations.

(8) Dana M. Pike and Andrew C. Skinner, *Qumran Cave 4. XXIII Unidentified Fragments*, DJD XXXIII (Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 168.

(9) Gustav Bickell, *Carmina Veteris Testamenti metrica. Notas criticae et dissertationem de re metrica Hebraeorum adjecit* (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1882), 180.

(10) Bernhard Duhm, *Das Buch Hiob*, KHC 16 (Freiburg i.Br.: Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1897), 173; Gustav Hölscher, *Das Buch Hiob*, HAT I/17, 2. ed. (Tübingen: Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1952), 85; Georg Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob*, KAT 16 (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1963), 475; Jan P. Fokkelman, *The Book of Job in Form: A Literary Translation with Commentary*, SSN 58 (Leiden: Brill 2012), 166–67.

#### 4 Conclusion

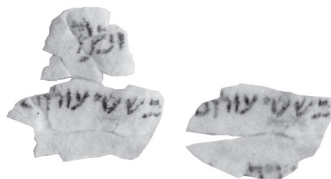
For the sake of convenience, we propose to give separate 4Q99 numbers to those fragments which were not yet included in the DJD edition of 4Q99:

4Q256 frag. 1	4Q99 frag. 24
4Q100 frags. 5–6	4Q99 frags. 25–26
PAM 43.682 frag. 29	4Q99 frag. 27

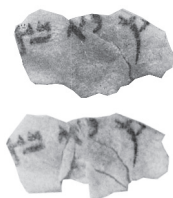
Because it is not clearly indicated in either the DJD edition, or any of the subsequent publications, we list the make-up of four consecutive columns:

I	Frag. 6, 7 i, 8–11	Job 35:16 ... 36:7–11
II	Frag. 7 ii, 12–16 i + 23 + 27	Job 36:13–24
III	Frag. 17–18, 16 ii	Job 36:25–37:5
IV	Frag. 19 + 20–22 + 24	Job 37:13–19

#### Images (11)

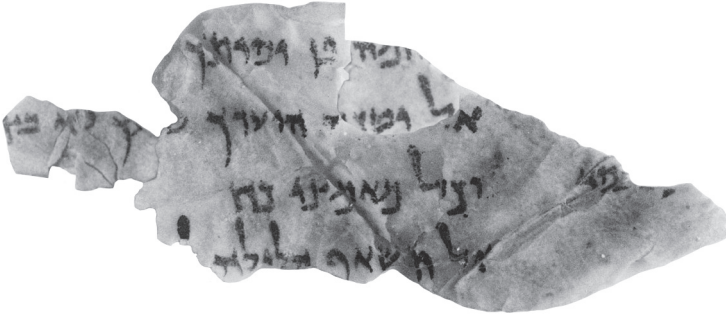


PAM 43.157 (4Q100 frags. 5+6) left;  
PAM 42.638 (4Q100 frag. 6) right



PAM 43.167 (above) and  
PAM 43.682 frag. 29 (below)

(11) Courtesy of The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library; Israel Antiquities Authority, photos: Najib Anton Albina.



4Q99 frag. 7 + 14 (PAM 43.096) + PAM 43.682 frag. 29

Rebekka LUTHER  
Humboldt University

Eibert TIGCHELAAR  
KU Leuven (12)

(12) Eibert Tigchelaar is also research associate of the University of Pretoria.

## REASSIGNING 4Q388A FRAG. G TO 4Q58 (4QISA<sup>D</sup>)

**I**N her edition of 4Q388 (4QPsEzek<sup>d</sup>) and 4Q388a (4QApocrJer C<sup>c</sup>) Devorah Dimant observed that some fragments that had originally been grouped with the 4Q388 and 4Q388a ones displayed a different hand and therefore did not belong to either manuscript. In an appendix to the edition of 4Q388a she published them as unidentified fragments 4Q388a frags. A to I. (1)

4Q388a frag. G had initially been included among the Cave 4 unidentified fragments and is numbered PAM 43.685 frag. 1 in DJD 33. (2) Only much later Strugnell associated it with 4Q388 and transferred the fragment to Museum Plate 125 with 4Q388. (3) The fragment, however, should be assigned to 4Q58 (4QIsa<sup>d</sup>) where it can be joined textually and materially to frag. 12 in 4Q58 col. IX lines 2–4. The hand of the fragment matches that of 4Q58, the colour of the skin is the same, and the lines due to scratching the hairs from the skin run in the same direction as in 4Q58 frag. 12. (4) One may read the joined remains of 4Q58 col. IX lines 2–4 and 4Q388a frag. G as follows (with remnants of Isa 54:3–5)

[ו]ערים נש[מות יו]ש[יבו] 2  
כי בשת ע[לומ]יך תש[כח]י 3  
יהוה צבא[ו]ת שמו 4

(1) Devorah Dimant, *Qumran Cave 4.XXI: Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts*, DJD 30 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 212–17.

(2) Dana Pike and Andrew C. Skinner, *Qumran Cave 4.XXIII: Unidentified Fragments*, DJD 33 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), Pl. XXV.

(3) In the IAA numbering system it is now Plate 125, frag. 16. See the photographs <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-358438> and <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-358439>.

(4) For 4Q58 frag. 12 see <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-295033>.

Illegible traces of ink to the upper left of שמו may reflect an interlinear addition.

A second, hitherto unidentified fragment that can also be joined materially and textually to 4Q58 is PAM 43.672 frag. 8 (5) which joins to the right of 4Q58 frag. 14 in 4Q58 col. XII lines 7–9.

Eibert TIGCHELAAR  
KU Leuven (6)

(5) <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-493222> and B-493223.

(6) The author is also a research associate of the University of Pretoria.

## JOIN OF 4Q59 (4QISA<sup>E</sup>) FRAG. 9 AND 4Q30 FRAG. 66 (ISAIAH 8:7–9)

**T**HE small unidentified fragment (IAA Plate 237 frag. 17) that was published as 4Q30 (4QDeut<sup>c</sup>) frag. 66 (1) should be reassigned to 4Q59 (4QIsa<sup>e</sup>) where it joins, textually and materially, to the top left of frag. 9 (IAA Plate 262 frag. 9), (2) and contributes a few more letters to 4Q59 frags. 4–10 lines 5–7. (3) One may transcribe the join of the two fragments, as follows:

5    [את מ]י הַנְּהַר  
6    [ג]דיותיו וה[לף  
7    רעו עמ[ים ו]חתו

The right side of 4Q30 frag. 66 fits exactly to the top left side of 4Q59 frag. 9. A large part of the skin in line 5 is abraded and only small parts of ink remain of what might have been *he* and *nun* of הַנְּהַר. In line 6, parts of the *taw* of גַּדְיוֹתָיו are found on the two fragments, and the same holds true for the final *mem* of עַמִּים in line 7. In line 7, on both fragments part of the skin is abraded, so that the entire *yod* is no longer visible and the right and middle part of the final *mem* are lost. In the colour photographs these abraded parts have a much lighter colour than the remainder of the fragment. In line 8 (the last line on the figure), the bottom right of 'aleph is lost due to the same kind of abrasion. The long final *waw* of גַּדְיוֹתָיו which was read by the editor

(1) Sidnie White Crawford, “30. 4QDeut<sup>c</sup>,” in *Qumran Cave 4.IX: Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings*, ed. Eugene Ulrich et al., DJD 14 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 34, pl. IX.

(2) Eugene Ulrich et al., *Qumran Cave 4.X: The Prophets*, DJD 15 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 92, pl. XVI.

(3) See Eibert Tigchelaar, “Fragments of 4QIsa<sup>e</sup> (4Q59) and 4QIsa<sup>f</sup> (4Q60),” *RevQ* 32/116 (2020): 273–78, for more 4Q59 identifications.

of 4Q30 as final *nun*, is not uncommon in 4Q59. See, for example, the long final *waw* in frag. 6 יברכיהו and frag. 7 אפיקיו i.

In addition, I record here the identification of another small 4Q59 fragment. In my earlier article on 4Q59 fragments I reported that PAM 43.692 frag. 58 should be joined to 4Q59 frag. 24. (4) To this join one might now add another fragment, PAM 43.690 frag. 19, (5) the bottom of which joins physically to PAM 43.692 frag. 58, and which preserves the letters אטא of Isa 14:23 וטאטאיה. With this fragment one now should transcribe 4Q59 frags. 18 ii, 23–24 + PAM frag. 43.690 19 + PAM frag. 43.692 58 (Isa 14:23–25) lines 3–5 as follows:

3	[ב] בָּלָן שֶׁם וְשֹׁאֵר וְנִין וְנָכַד נָאִם יְהוָה <sup>32</sup> וְשִׁמְתִּיהָ לְמֹרֶשׁ קֶפֶד וְאִנְמִי מִים וְטֹאטֹאֵת[יה]
4	בְּמִטְאֹטֶאן הַשִּׁמְד נָאִם יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת      [ ] vac [      vac
5	[נ] שֶׁבַע <sup>24</sup> [הוּהוּ צְבָאוֹת לֵאמֹר אִם לֹא כֹאשֶׁר דְּמִיתִי כֵן הִיתָה וְכֹאשֶׁר] יִעֲצָתִי הִיא תִּקּוֹם <sup>52</sup> לְשׁ[בֶּר]

Eibert TIGCHELAAR  
KU Leuven (6)



IAA Plate 237 frag. 17 (4Q30 frag. 66) + IAA Plate 262 frag. 9 (4Q59 frag. 9) top section Courtesy of The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library; Israel Antiquities Authority, photo: Shai Halevi

(4) Tigchelaar, “Fragments of 4QIsa<sup>c</sup> (4Q59),” 275.

(5) Image in Dana M. Pike and Andrew C. Skinner, *Qumran Cave 4. XXIII: Unidentified Fragments*, DJD 33 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), XXIX and <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-285115>.

(6) The author is also research associate of the University of Pretoria.

## 6Q13 - PROPHÉTIE SACERDOTALE / RETOUR DE L'EXIL\*

UN fragment de peau réglé dans une graphie de l'époque héro-  
dienne tardive a gardé des restes de neuf lignes apparentés au  
contenu des *Livres d'Esdras-Néhémie*. (1)

6Q13 :

[	ת[ ירו[של]ם(?)	1
[	א[רץ] י[ש]ראל	2
[גרשם(?)	זרב[בל] מ]	3
וישוע	מבני פינחס וש[ריה	4
[	בן יוצדק אשר]	5
[	בין[רושלם] ביום]	6
[	ויציב נר ליש[וע]ראל (?)	7
[	והיה ביום] ההוא	8
	בימים [ההם] (?)	9

Notes de lecture :

– Ligne 1 : Pied de lettre, *taw* possible, puis traces du jambage gauche  
du *šin* et *lamed*, certains.

\* This note is a part of the project funded by the Ministry of Education and  
Science, Republic of Poland, “Regional Initiative of Excellence” in 2019-2022, 028/  
RID/2018/19, the amount of funding: 11 742 500 PLN.

(1) Voir M. Baillet, « 13. Prophétie Sacerdotale (?) », in *Les ‘Petites Grottes’ de  
Qumrân. 1. Textes*, par M. Baillet, J.T. Milik, et R. de Vaux (DJDJ III ; Oxford : Claren-  
don Press, 1962), 126-127, qui lit ]’[ ligne 1, ]’r[ ligne 2, ]bl .[ ligne 3, [byr]w[š]/[y]m  
ligne 6, [š]nybšr ly.[, ligne 7, whyh bym[ym hhm, ligne 8, suivi par F. García Martínez –  
E. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition, Volume II 4Q274-11Q31* (Leiden –  
Boston – Köln: Brill, 1998), 1152-53, à l’exception de la ligne 6. E. Qimron, *The Dead  
Sea Scrolls. The Hebrew Writings*. Volume Three (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press, 2014),  
243, lit ]’[, ligne 1, ]bl °[, ligne 2, [byr]w[š]/[y]m, ligne 3, [m]ndbym ly°[, ligne 7, et  
whyh bym[ym hhm, ligne 8.



- Ligne 2 : *Šin* assuré.
- Ligne 3 : À la deuxième cassure, tracé de *mem* probable.
- Ligne 4 : *Mem* et *bet* certains.
- Ligne 6 : Traces de la tête de *reš*, puis *waw* certain, puis départ du *šin* ; après la hampe du *lamed*, petit apex du *mem* final (voir les photographies numérisées B-482237/8), sans nul espace pour *yod* d'une *scriptio plena*.
- Ligne 7 : *Šadé* certain (photographie numérisée B-482238), puis partie droite de *šin*.
- Ligne 8 : *Waw* probable comparé à la tête de *yod* ensuite, puis *waw*.

### Traduction :

- <sup>1</sup>... Jérusalem]m ...  
<sup>2</sup>... le pays[d'I]sraël ...  
<sup>3</sup>... Zorobabel(?), M[... , Gershom(?)]  
<sup>4</sup>des fils de Pînhas, et Se[raya ..., et Josué]  
<sup>5</sup>fils de Yoçadaq qui[ ...]  
<sup>6</sup>[à Jérusalem le jour[ ...]  
<sup>7</sup>et il érigera une lampe pour Jos[ué/Israël(?)]...]  
<sup>8</sup>et il arrivera en ce jour[-là ...]  
<sup>9</sup>en [ces] jours-[là, ...]

### Commentaire :

– Ligne 1 : La restauration “Jérusalem]m” en *scriptio defectiva* comme à la ligne 6, paraît possible à défaut d’assurée dans cette disposition des lettres et dans ce passage. Cette même *scriptio defectiva* se retrouve dans les manuscrits des *Livres d’Esdras* et de *Néhémie*.

– Ligne 2 : La restauration “le pays[d'I]sraël” est à retenir. Il semble bien être fait allusion dans ces lignes au retour des exilés à Jérusalem au pays d’Israël.

– Ligne 3 : La lecture “(Zoro)ba]bel” paraît devoir être à retenir, préférable à Ba]bel, voir Si 49,12. En 1 Ch 3,19, Meshullam, qui est fils de Zorobabel, pourrait être aussi à lire dans ce passage, “Zoroba]bel, Me[shullam”, mais la restauration, possible, n’est pas assurée d’autant qu’une lecture *b]bl* ou *mb]bl* “(de) Ba]bylone” n’est pas à exclure, voir Esd 7,6.9 et le retour du prêtre - scribe Esdras. Voir aussi Esd 2,2 ; 3,2.8 ; 4,2.4 ; 5,2, Ne 7,7 ; 12,47, Ag 1,1.12.14 ; 2,2.4.23, Za 4,6-7.9-10. Une autre possibilité pourrait être de comprendre *m[bny* NP, bien que le passage ne soit pas parallèle à la liste d’Esd 8,2-14.

– Ligne 4 : Voir Esd 8,2 // 1 Esd 8,29. Pînhas est fils d’Éléazar, fils d’Aaron. Esdras appartient à sa lignée : Esd 7,5 // 1 Esd 8,2, ainsi que Yoçadaq, 1 Ch 5,30.40-41, 1 Esd 5,5. Seraya est arrivé avec Zorobabel, Josué et Néhémie, et quelques autres, Esd 2,2 ; il est père d’Esdras, Esd 7,1, voir aussi Ne 10,3 ; 11,11, et 12,1.12 pour une liste de prêtres et les lévites montés à Jérusalem avec Zorobabel et Josué. Esd 8,2 nomme

Gershom parmi les fils de Pinhas, ne faudrait-il pas le restaurer à la fin de la ligne 3 ?

– Lignes 4-5 : Josué fils de Yoçadaq est le grand-prêtre au retour de l'exil, voir Ag 1,1.12.14 ; 2,2.4, Za 6,11, Esd 2,2 ; 3,2 // 1 Esd 5,47, Esd 3,8 // 1 Esd 5,54, Esd 5,2 // 1 Esd 6,2, Esd 10,18 // 1 Esd 9,19, Ne 12,26, 1 Esd 5,5. Voir sa vêtue en Za 3,1-10 ; 6,9-14, et Si 49,12. Il ne serait pas exclu que la suite reprenne une partie d'Esd 3,2 mentionnant la reconstruction de l'autel pour l'offrande des holocaustes qui reprit le premier jour du septième mois (Esd 3,6).

– Ligne 6 : Parmi les nombreuses expressions [by]ršlm "à Jérusalem", voir en particulier Esd 1,2-5 ; 2,68 ; 4,24 ; 5,1-2.14-17 ; 6,3-5.5.9.12.18 ; 7,15-17.27 ; 8,29 ; 9,9, Ne 2,20 ; 6,7 ; 8,15 ; 11,1.2-4.6.22 ; 13,6.16.

– Ligne 7 : En Za 4,2, il est question d'un lampadaire en or (*mnwrt zhb*) avec sept lampes (*nrwtyh*), juste après la vêtue du grand-prêtre Josué au chapitre 3. (2) À ce sujet, comparer l'expression du Ps 132,17 : 'rkty nr lmšyhw. Une restauration lyš[r'l paraît moins vraisemblable mais ne peut être à exclure.

– Ligne 8 : *whyh bywm[ hhw'* est une expression très fréquente dans les livres prophétiques, mais elle ne se retrouve pas dans les parties conservées des manuscrits de Qumrân.

– Ligne 9 : Comprendre peut-être *bymym [hbm (/h'lh)*, voir en particulier Za 8,9.15 et Ne 6,17 ; 13,23.

### Conclusion

Ces maigres restes manuscrits autour des figures de Zorobabel(?) et de Josué à Jérusalem au pays d'Israël se rapprochent autant des *Livres d'Esdras* et de *Néhémie* pour le retour de l'exil et la reconstruction du sanctuaire que des passages prophétiques d'*Aggée* et de *Zacharie* avec ses deux figures "messianiques" du grand-prêtre et du chef. (3) Il est vrai aussi qu'Esd 6,14 rapporte que la reconstruction a été faite sous l'inspiration d'Aggée le prophète et de Zacharie fils d'Iddo, de sorte que 6Q13 semble s'inspirer aussi de ces deux derniers livres. A-t-on pour autant affaire à une prophétie sacerdotale de préférence à une évocation du retour des exilés ? Quoi qu'il en soit, 6Q13 hébreu renvoie à un épisode du retour de l'exil au centre des *Livres d'Esdras* et de *Néhémie*, livres assez peu représentés parmi les manuscrits de la mer Morte. Aussi la

(2) Baillet, *op. cit.*, p. 127, a proposé de lire *šnybšr* (suggestion très incertaine) en rapprochant une forme grecque de *ššbšr*, lecture retenue par García Martínez – Tigchelaar. La lecture de Qimron, *op. cit.*, p. 243, [*mt*]ndbym ly°[ est aussi totalement exclue.

(3) Qimron, *op. cit.*, p. 243, propose comme titre *ywšdq*. Mais le personnage central de ces lignes paraît être plutôt le grand-prêtre Josué.

présence de ce manuscrit n'est pas sans intérêt dans la bibliothèque de la Communauté essénienne qui revendique, dès ses débuts en -152/1, l'héritage sacerdotal aaronique promis à des sadocides (voir Nb 25,7-13, Ez 44,15-16, Si 45,23-24 ; 51,12 [ix hébreu]) opposé au grand sacerdote hasmonéen non sadocite de Jonathan Maccabée et de ses successeurs, voir en particulier *4QMMT*, *4Q245*. (4)

Émile PUECH  
CNRS-Paris & EBAF-Jérusalem

(4) Voir E. Puech, « Le manuscrit *4QPseudoDaniel<sup>c</sup>* - *4Q245* revisité », *Revue Biblique* 128 (2021) 190-200.

## RECENSIONS

Bronson Brown-de Vost, *Commentary and Authority in Mesopotamia and Qumran*. Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplement Series (JAJSup) 29, pp. 296. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019. €74.99/\$113. ISBN 978-3-525-54072-5.

The vitality of interpretation in religious traditions has always been a reality for the survival of sacred texts, though the study of such interpretative genres has only been a focus of study in the past few decades. The comparative analysis of the manner in which two different, though perhaps related, societies conduct such interpretations and generate genres of texts to support them can shed light on multiple scholarly questions at the same time. It is in this vein that Bronson Brown-deVost published *Commentary and Authority in Mesopotamia and Qumran*, examining features of commentary texts from cuneiform sources as well as the *peshet* texts discovered among the Dead Sea Scrolls. Through such comparative endeavors, Brown-deVost successfully explores aspects of each corpus while also clarifying what, if any, relationships might exist between them.

The volume proceeds in a number of phases. First, Brown-deVost examines the background of *peshet* texts from Qumran, showing features of interpretive techniques from within the Hebrew Bible itself that allow for the evolution, once a stable base text has been achieved, for the sorts of *peshet* phenomena that appear in interpretive texts at Qumran. Next, he outlines a description of the genre of the *peshet* text. This description serves Brown-deVost's analysis in a number of ways. For example, it allows him to leverage this description to explore the significance of various phrasings in the *peshet* texts, in which the *lemma* is introduced by פֶּשֶׁר but also by a number of alternative phrasings. In particular, the locution פֶּשֶׁר הַפֶּתּוּם is notable for understanding more of the history of the *peshet* genre: the idiom parallels פֶּשֶׁר הַדָּבָר and may provide insight into the Aramaic influence of mediating Mesopotamian hermeneutical techniques.

Indeed, the significance of this insight may also allow for further understanding of the distinction between פֶּתַר, occurring in a number of verses in Gen 40-41, and פֶּשֶׁר, appearing in Late Biblical Hebrew and Biblical Aramaic, perhaps as a loan from other, earlier dialects of Aramaic, itself from Akkadian *pišrum*. The observation is all the more fascinating given Brown-deVost's conclusions in comparing Mesopotamian commentary texts, which were for the

most part scholarly reference works, and Qumran *peshet* texts, which instead mostly covered oracular authority (and even prophetic personae such as Ezekiel and Jeremiah whose books did not receive a *peshet* could still evoke this manner of interpretation). The significance of this conclusion in Brown-deVost's work makes the use of פתר in Gen 40-41 stand out as all the more peculiar, since this oracular authority is exactly what is at stake on those passages. One might expect, then, that פתר, if it were a true Hebrew rendering of "to interpret," would function as biblically licensed phrasing for the heading of such interpretative texts at Qumran, but it does not. Indeed, charting how the sibilant in פשר and the dental in פתר relate is itself a complicated matter, and one cannot rule out a foreignizing effect as a literary feature of the narrative. This comment, a further implication of the volume though unexplored in it, is simply by way of showing how rich Brown-deVost's genre analysis is: it allows for deeper understandings of the complexities and function of *peshet* texts at Qumran and how they relate, or do not relate, to earlier social and religious depictions of this activity from the Bible.

The comparative analysis in Brown-deVost yields answers to two questions regarding commentary texts, but requires a distinction between formal features on the one hand (making his study of the formal features of the *peshet* all the more valuable) and hermeneutical strategies on the other. On the one hand, Brown-deVost rules out any direct relationship on the form, layout, and social location and function of the commentary texts. At the same time, he provides interesting insight into how there might be a connection between Mesopotamian hermeneutical techniques and those found in the *peshet* texts. In this fashion, he advances trajectories whereby Irving Finkel, Tzvi Abusch, and Yohannan Muffs have shown on other grounds that parallels exist between cuneiform legal and interpretative culture and later, rabbinic literary material.

This comparison allows us to trace growth and development of *peshet* texts and come to conclusions that would be difficult to make were the *peshet* texts all that we had. Having the cuneiform texts allows one to trace the growth of commentary texts since the manuscript evidence is ample enough over time to observe these changes firsthand in the textual record. In this fashion, indications that the comments in the Qumran *peshet* texts have grown over time, or exist as copies of previous texts, find concrete analogies in the cuneiform record for more certain reconstruction of the textual growth of the *peshet* texts. Intriguingly, Brown-deVost observes in his comparative study the parallel manner in which further interpretations in Akkadian commentaries are marked (using *šanû* and *šaniš* for "another [interpretation]" and "secondly," respectively) and the appearance of an *aleph* in the Qumran *peshet* texts. The *aleph* had previously been connected as an abbreviation for אחר, or דבר אחר, "another," or "another word/interpretation." Brown-deVost not only affirms this conclusion but, given the parallels with Mesopotamian commentary texts, he offers concrete evidence in favor of this understanding for the *aleph* in Qumran texts.

One of the more significant discussions in this volume concerns the matter of authority. After examining the forms and features of the *peshet* texts as well as their possible growth over time in light of comparison with Mesopotamian commentary texts, Brown-deVost investigates how these commentary texts indicate something about textual authority. He examines the variety of domains in which the base texts function as evident in commentary activity.

These domains include: normative authority, oracular authority (which is the dominant mode of authority for *peshet* texts at Qumran), mytho-historic authority, and scholarly authority (the major issue of authority for many Mesopotamian commentary texts, such as the commentary on the *Enūma eliš*). Brown-deVost concludes with an appendix providing his own editions of the Qumran *peshet* texts as well as a score of *Enūma eliš* Commentary 1.

In sum, this volume represents a helpful resource in the field, and contains a variety of scholarly contributions. Both for the insights into the *peshet* texts themselves as well as the comparative framework with Mesopotamian commentary texts that allows for testing and exploring additional aspects about the *peshet* texts, Brown-deVost is to be thanked for providing a thorough and original examination into the phenomena of interpretive genres in the ancient world. This volume is a particularly welcome contribution in light of other studies that have also appeared recently such as Molly M. Zahn's *Genres of Rewriting in Second Temple Judaism*. Indeed, Brown-deVost's comparative insights provide models for how to gauge issues of textual growth and history in lesser documented texts (Qumran) on the basis of better documented texts (Mesopotamian commentaries). As such, the volume enhances the ability to situate the *peshet* texts in historical, intellectual, and scribal contexts.

Samuel L. BOYD

Jacob Licht, *The Spiritual World of Second Temple Judaism* (מעולמה הרוחני של יהדות הבית השני) [in Hebrew], ed. Noam Mizrahi (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute and The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 2020), pp. 268, ₪ 82, € 20.51. ISBN 978-965-536-250-3.

This important collection of Jacob Licht's essays provides scholars with an important opportunity to read about the Dead Sea Scrolls and other Second Temple (or pre-70 CE) works, written in the immediate aftermath of the discovery of the scrolls by one of the most important scholars of this original finding in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. These articles provide a unique window onto the early stages of discerning the relevance and contribution of the Scrolls to the field of Biblical Studies and, more generally, Ancient Judaism. The collection is a labor of love by Noam Mizrahi. He helpfully organized the collection in chronological order so that the reader could appreciate the development of Licht's thinking.

Mizrahi prepares the reader by explaining the scholarly contributions of the essays, while taking the reader through a very detailed and full account of Licht's own life challenges and achievements. Licht was not only developing as a scholar; he was also struggling to survive the Second World War. Having been orphaned due to his parents having been murdered in the Shoah, he also tragically lost his brother. Despite the unimaginable and tragic losses which he suffered, Licht helped to recover a lost past amidst his own lost present. Licht built a glorious career and this collection enables us to catch a glimpse of his great legacy, as do others of his distinctive scholarly contributions. Notably his brilliant commentary on the Thanksgiving Hymns (1957). Like the commentary, these essays penetrate the Scrolls and expose the innovative and dynamic use of Hebrew in the late Second Temple period. Furthermore, these essays

also show us how the scrolls came to be integrated legally, liturgically, and theologically into the fabric of scholarly understanding of Second Temple Judaism.

The second part of the volume further shows us how Licht contributed to a larger framework for understanding the growth and development of textual expansion, exegesis, and theology by considering Greek, Syriac and Latin texts that needed to also be integrated into our new understanding of Second Temple Judaism.

The essays in this collection range from very detailed philological discussions of particular words and concepts in the Dead Sea Scrolls to discussions of heavenly temple, and to legal and liturgical matters, as well as attempts to paint an overall picture of the community behind the Dead Sea Scrolls. These 9 essays (part I) on the Dead Sea Scrolls reflect Licht's bold and detailed integration of the Scrolls into Ancient Judaism. The studies are focused on the particular Hebrew terms and phrases such as *lot*, *time*, *volunteering*, *eternal planting*. Licht focuses on the multivalent ways in which these terms are repurposed and transformed in a new textual environment. His philological essays are distinguished not only by his erudition but also by his openness to think and rethink terms that we thought we already understood. The Dead Sea Scrolls demonstrated time and again that Hebrew was a dynamic and vibrant language which continued to transform and assimilate new concepts, beliefs, and cultures.

In addition to exemplary philological studies, the essays in this volume also explain distinctive concepts that were exemplified in the scrolls. Licht is attentive to some of the earliest reflections on the legal and theological concepts that were discovered through the reading of the scrolls. He already understood that the scrolls had a great deal to contribute to how we understand heavenly temple, eschatology, and blessing. The essays are always grounded in careful and detailed philological attention, but also keep an eye on the larger theological framework. Each essay bares the incredible excitement and the transformative experience of reading the scrolls in the aftermath of the discovery of the scrolls in the Judean Desert.

What unifies the collection is Licht's focus on trying to understand the community as an entity that is both apocalyptic and sectarian. While we might no longer agree with either designation, the contributions of the individual philological and theological studies continue to survive the test of time. In fact, as these essays demonstrate, Licht was able to identify some of the most important concepts for understanding how the finding of the scrolls would transform our own understanding of Ancient Judaism. For example, Licht was able to identify the transformative and paradoxical nature of how we conceive of the human condition, and also the everchanging notion of *time* in the past, future, and the present. We are just now coming to fully appreciate how important these aspects are for understanding Judaism in the Hellenistic period.

This collection provides us with a rare opportunity to understand the radical and deep transformation of the field of Biblical Studies and Jewish Studies in the aftermath of the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. We should be enormously grateful to Noam Mizrahi for assembling and introducing this important collection for us. The legacy of Jacob Licht, like the *razim* within the scrolls, have a past, a future, and an urgent present. We remember Jacob Licht for his illuminating scholarship and profound insights.

Hindy NAJMAN